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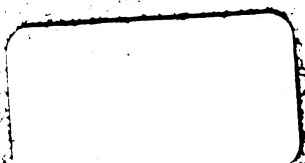
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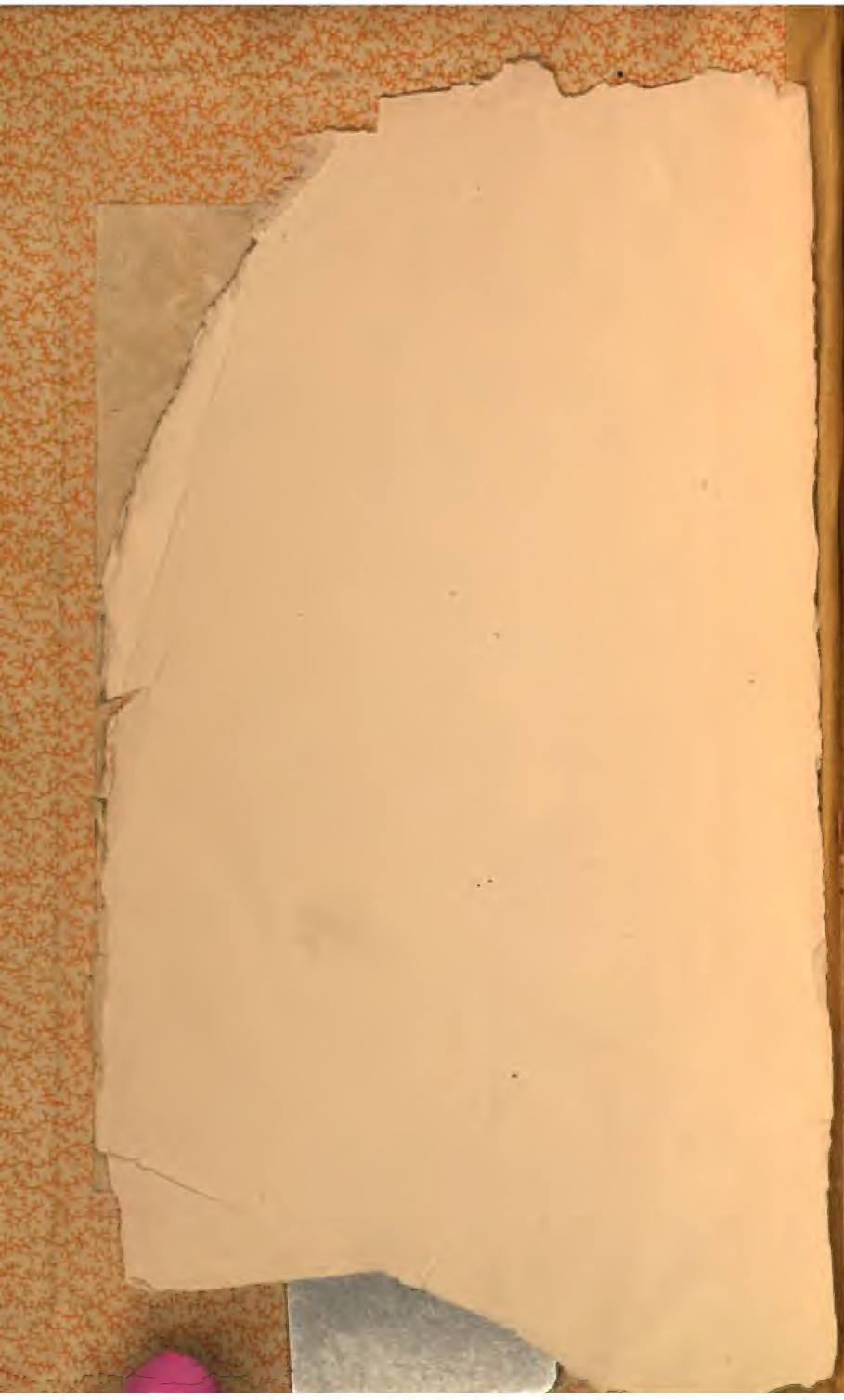
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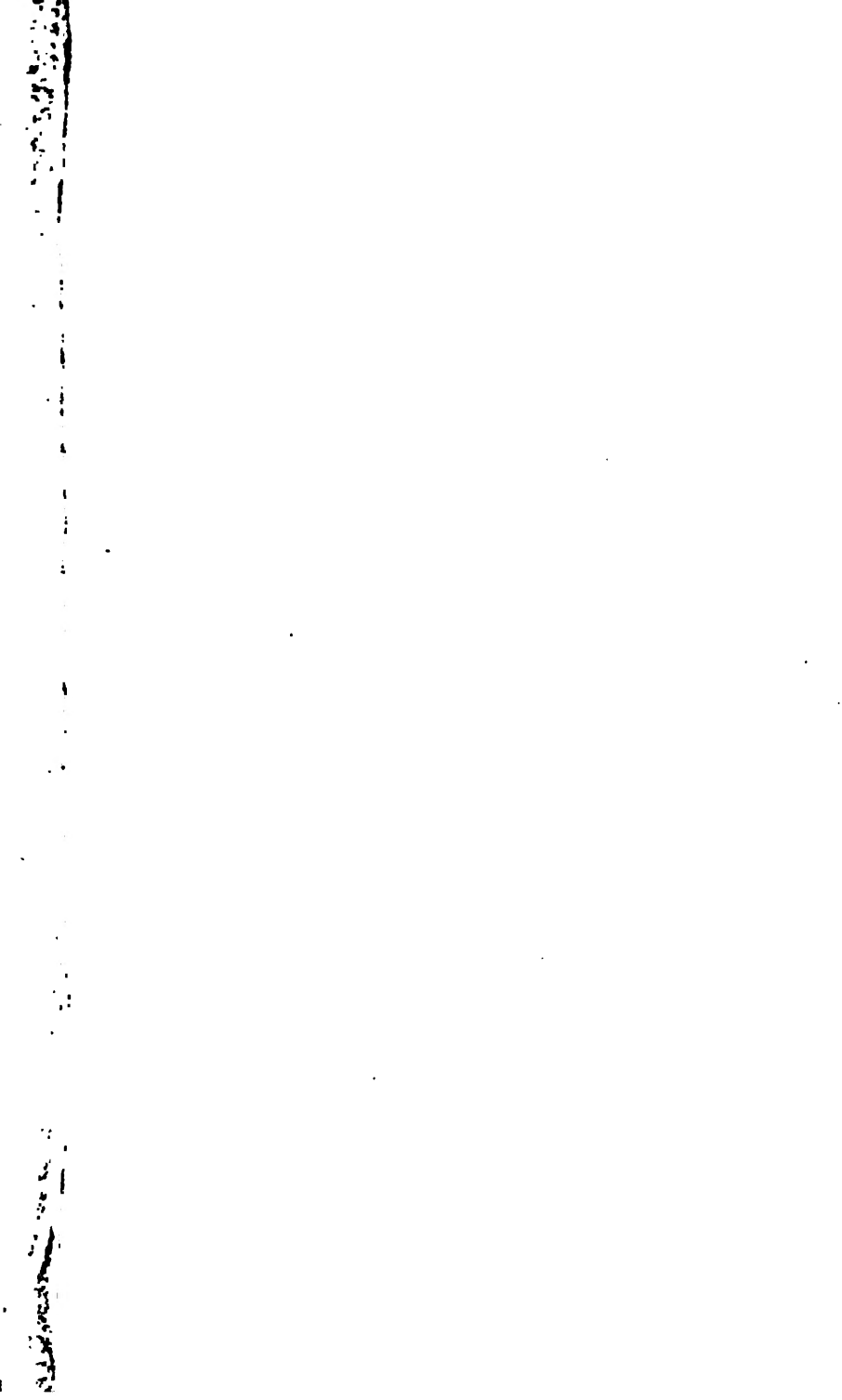
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George Bancroft







M E M O I R S
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N
A N D
I R E L A N D ;

FROM THE
Dissolution of the last Parliament of CHARLES II.
till the Capture of the French and Spanish
Fleets at VIGO.

A NEW EDITION, IN THREE VOLUMES ;
With the APPENDIXES Complete :

Consisting chiefly of
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CHARLES II. JAMES II. King WILLIAM, and Queen MARY,
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Taken from the Dépôt des Affaires étrangères at VERSAILLES, and
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Interspersed with HISTORICAL RELATIONS, necessary to connect
the Papers together.

By Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE, Bart.
BARON OF EXCHEQUER IN SCOTLAND.

V O L. III.

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THE
C O N T E N T S
OF THE
T H I R D V O L U M E.

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PART II.
BOOK V.
1690.

IN a country in which the tories had been in power, with no long interruption, during four reigns, possessed the greatest part of the land-property, had the church upon their side, and were now assisted by the interest * of the court, the returns to the new house of commons could not fail to be made in favour of that party. Encouraged by this, William, whose prepara-

The King's
Strength in
the new par-
liament.

* Clarendon's Diary, Feb. 29.

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1690.

tions for Ireland were not ready so soon as he expected, resolved to meet his new parliament before he set out, instead of leaving the management of it to the Queen in his absence. It met upon the 21st of March. His speech discovered the consciousness which he had of his own strength: He said, "he desired they would forthwith make a settlement of the revenue, and that, in doing so, he expected they would show as much regard to the dignity of the crown in his person as they had lately shown to it in the persons of other princes." As if already granted, he offered it as a fund of credit for raising money to be repaid at a more convenient season. Instead of waiting till they sent him a bill of indemnity, he informed them, that he intended to send them an act of grace, in which only a few persons were to be excepted. He concluded with saying, "That, as he was going immediately to Ireland, their session would be short, and therefore that they ought not to spend that time in debates, which the enemy would spend in the field."

The whig party of the commons, being sensible that all opposition to the great interests of government was now in vain, readily concurred with the tories * in raising the proper supplies for the year, and in settling the excise, and the hereditary revenue, with the exception of the hearth-money, upon the King and Queen, with a survivancy. But the customs were given only for the term of four years; because the tories, who had not as yet a complete confidence in the King, did not chuse to make him independent for a longer term, and because the whigs thought even that term too long. The King complained of the jealousy marked by the limitation. He was answered, "That money would be more freely advanced upon a grant which had a certain duration, than upon

* Jour. house of commons, March 29. April 2. 3. 1690.

"one

“ one dependent upon life ; and that, as the present settlement of the revenue was a precedent for adjusting the revenue of succeeding princes, a concession by him which discovered his confidence in his subjects, would make his memory immortal.” He saw the insincerity of the argument, but suppressed his dissatisfaction.

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1690.

But the tories were not contented with their superiority in promoting William's measures, unless the nation should be sensible of it in other things likewise. The commons, by a majority of 49 *, presented an address of thanks to the King, for the alterations he had directed in the lieutenancy of London ; and carried the vanity of victory so far, as to present it in a body. In order to affront the dissenters, who in the late reign had entered into offices without taking the sacramental test, a bill passed the commons for levying the usual penalties from them † ; and to make the affront the stronger, when a motion was made for levying the penalties from papists ‡, it was overruled. The Lords on their side passed the act of grace, without one contradictory voice ; and, while the bill was reading, and whilst they voted ||, they all stood up uncovered. With a kind of insult, the peers mentioned the circumstance of their unanimity in their message to the commons.

The tories
insult the
whigs.

The whigs returned these injuries : For they brought a bill into the house of lords, recognizing the King to be rightful sovereign, and that the acts of the late parliament were good and valid ; and another into both houses, to oblige all in public employment to take an oath of abjuration of the late King : Bills calculated to expose the to-

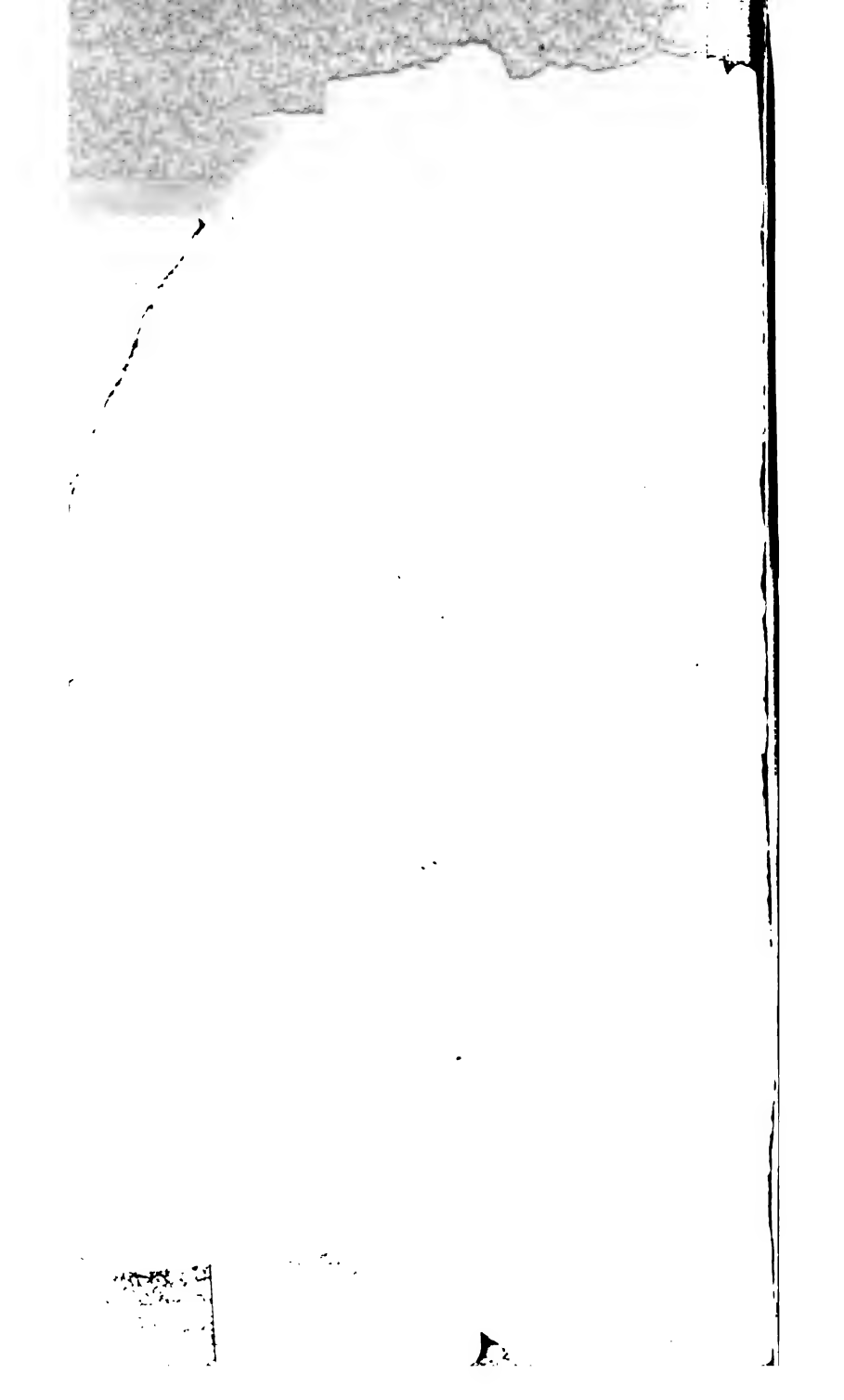
The whigs
return the
injury.

* Journ. house of commons, April 9. 24.

† To prevent the King from dispensing with the penalties, the bill ordered a separate account of them to be kept in Exchequer.

‡ Journ. house of commons, May 10.

|| Ibid. April 26. Lords' journ. May 3. and 8. Burnet.







PART II.
BOOK V.

1690.

great events of the summer. But the eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon Ireland, in which two warlike Kings were to contend, as upon a public theatre, for empire, and where the singular spectacle was to be exhibited, of a nephew fighting against his uncle, and of two sons against their father-in-law. Both Kings were the more respectable too, because, although their animosities were mortal, they maintained the laws of honour to each other. In the beginning of the war, the King gave orders to the captains of the navy, if they took James at sea, to preserve his person unhurt, and to carry him to Holland *. In the course of the war, a captain of a ship of war offered to invite James on board his ship, and then to sail off with him †; but William received the proposal with indignation. On the other hand, those who were around the exiled King made use of every art to provoke him against his family: Mrs. Dawson, of his Queen's bed-chamber, assured him, that she was present when the Princess Anne felt the child leap in the Queen's belly; and others, though surely with injustice, that, when William complained to his consort of the difficulties he was to encounter in Ireland, she answered, " You might have been free of those difficulties, had you taken my advice, when the King was in your hands." An anecdote, though not strictly suited to the dignity of history, may perhaps be pardoned, which marks the state of the exiled court. James was one day complaining to his courtiers of his eldest daughter, but speaking with tenderness of the Princess Anne: Captain Lloyd of the navy, who liked not the last part of the conversation, quitted the room; but, turning back his head as he shut the door,

* My ingenious and learned friend Doctor Douglas, Bishop of Carlisle, gave me a copy of the order, authenticated by Doctor Clark, a lord of the admiralty, who found it among Lord Torrington's papers.

† Burnet.

muttered

muttered aloud, "Both bitches, by God*!" Some around James prompted him to consent to the assassination of the King; but, equalling the King's generosity, he continually rejected the proposal with horror †.

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BOOK V.
1690.

But, while the English were intent upon the fate of the Irish war, they were alarmed with the discovery of the conspiracy at home. As the danger had come originally from Scotland, so the discovery of it came likewise from thence. At the same time that Sir James Montgomery, Lord Ross, and Lord Annandale, joined in the general correspondence of the Jacobite party with the exiled Queen, and with France, they carried on a private correspondence with James in Ireland for their own advantage, sending over, for that purpose, a trusty messenger, named Jones. By this means, they prevailed upon James, who had not exact intelligence in Ireland of the terms adjusted with his party by his comfort, to send over commissions which heaped all honours in Scotland upon themselves and their friends: The Earldom of Air was conferred upon Montgomery, another Earldom on Ross, the title of Marquis on Annandale. These three persons were empowered to summon a parliament in James's name, in which the last of them was to represent his person as commissioner. But, in their care for themselves, they neglected their other associates, and instead of asking a commission for the Earl of Arran as general, they contented themselves with getting a simple pardon for his father. Upon this

Causes of
the discovery of the
conspiracy
in Britain.

* James was expressing joy at St. Germain's, upon the news that the King of Siam had been converted to Christianity, "I am sorry for it," said Lloyd, "for then his subjects will depose him." I found these two anecdotes in the memoirs of a noble family, who do not chuse to have the connections of an ancestor with the family of Stewart, even though near a century ago, mentioned.

† Vide the trials and last speeches of all those who were tried for the assassination plot. Vide also Sir John Fenwick's confession.

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the partizans of James, enraged* with his imprudence and ingratitude, and the treachery of their three friends, broke off their connections equally with him and with them. At this time the Duke of Hamilton was no longer commissioner to the parliament. Lord Melville, who now filled his place, and Lord Stair, alarmed with the junction of the country and Jacobite parties, hastened to get every bill passed which the Duke of Hamilton had disappointed, or that could please the people, though at the expence of the crown; and among other measures†, to split the two parties, one of which was presbyterian, and the other episcopal, Lord Melville touched with the sceptre the act which established presbytery in Scotland. Sir John Dalrymple pointed out to the revolution country-party, upon the one hand, the generosity of the King in giving up his prerogative, and, upon the other, the precipice to which their new allies had attempted to draw them. That party, pleased with the escape which they had made, joined with the court interest in advancing supplies, in keeping up the army, and in imposing an oath upon the subjects, which, while it abjured the late King, renounced also the distinction so fatal to England, between a King *de facto*, and a King *de jure*; and broke off all their connections with Montgomery, Ross, and Annandale. Deserted thus by both parties, afraid to be betrayed, and, perhaps, feeling those compunctions which are apt to arise upon disappointment, in the breasts of people who have quitted

* Lord Balcarras.

† The King's supremacy was abolished; the old ejected presbyterian ministers were restored; the lords of articles were given up; presbytery was established and indulged in all the wildness of freedom by the destruction of patronage; the number of the representatives of the commons in parliament was increased; to boroughs, their ancient rights were restored; all forfeitures and fines which had been imposed since the year 1665, were indiscriminately reversed; and the effects of forfeiture were limited for the future. Vide Scotch Statutes, and their dates in the London Gazette.

their principles for ambition, these three men hastened to London to discover what they knew.

Lord Ross presented himself first, laying open to the Queen all the plan of the conspiracy, yet refusing to name the conspirators: She referred him to the Lords Nottingham and Caermarthen. But shocked with the indignity to himself and his family, of becoming an informer to his equals and to strangers, he refused to confirm to her ministers what he had related to herself, and was sent to the Tower. Sir James Montgomery, more prudent, before he would appear, made terms, that he should not meet with the same fate. In order to give importance to himself, he exaggerated that of the conspiracy to the Queen and her ministers. He named all his Scotch, but refused to name any of his English accomplices; because his countrymen, he said, had deserted him; the others had not. Lord Annandale hid himself, distrustful of his own courage, and did not surrender until long after. Ferguson was seized in England*, but eluded the arts of those who examined him, by greater arts. Payne was put twice to the torture in Scotland†; but withstood all its furies, proud to show he possessed that constancy of which his superiors, who had em-

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BOOK V.

1692.

The conspiracy discovered.

* Clarendon's Diary, June 20, 21.

† This is the last instance of the use of the torture in Scotland. An account of it is to be found in the record of the Scottish privy council, 10th December 1690. There was a special warrant for it, signed by the King and Lord Melville. When Payne was threatened by the privy council, he answered, "They might do with his body what they pleased." The record bears, that there was a motion made from the bar for a second torture next day, if he did not confess upon the first. The council differed; but upon a vote it was resolved to comply with the motion. He was tortured in presence of the council; and the record bears, "he answered *negative*." There are many instances of the torture in the books of the privy council in the reign of Charles the Second. Most of the old laws and customs of Scotland were formed upon those of the Romans and the French; and both of those nations made use of the torture. The instruments of it were borrowed from France.

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1690.

ployed him, were void. Crone and Tempest, two inferior agents *, were taken in England with some letters. The former was condemned to die, but was often reprieved; the latter first sunk into despondency, and then died raving mad in prison. But the struggles of Crone to save his life, by describing a conspiracy, the particulars of which he did not know, and the horrors of Tempest, which were imputed to the importance of the secrets he had to disclose, added doubt and uncertainty to fear in those who examined them. And hence the greatness of the conspiracy was magnified, in proportion to its obscurity, in the imaginations of the Queen, her ministers, and the nation.

Conspirators
seized.

June 24.

Before William sailed, he had issued a proclamation to seize many persons in Lancashire, who had got commissions from the late King to levy men in that county. And now the Queen, in order to raise a spirit of loyalty in the nation by its fears and its dangers, sent to the Tower the Lords Clarendon, Yarmouth, Newburgh, Griffin, Castlemain, and Alesbury, Sir John Fenwick, Colonel Hastings, and many other men of distinction †. A proclamation was soon after issued to seize the Lords Litchfield, Montgomery, Preston, and Bellasis, Sir Edward Hales, Captain Lloyd, Mr. Pen, and many others. Every hour the prison-doors were opened to receive the partisans of the late King, and the people, astonished, saw no end of the government's enemies and their own. Lord Hume, Lord Oxenford, with a few others of the Scotch nobility ‡ in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, were seized. The rest were overlooked, partly because it was difficult to seize them all at once, and dangerous to do it separately, and partly because, as their party

* Clarendon's Diary, June 8, 9. 25.

† *Gazettes*. Clarendon's Diary. Books of privy council, June 24, 1690. July 18.

‡ Records of Scottish privy council, anno 1690.

was split, no immediate fear was entertained of them. Argyle retired to his estate in the highlands, ashamed of his rashness; but immediately after made ample amends*, by subduing the western islands of Scotland to the government. Lord Tarbet and Lord Breadalbane vowed the future service of their lives to William, in return for his mercy. Breadalbane kept his faith: But, as Tarbet† was dismissed from his offices, he thought himself at liberty to break it.

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1690.

The Queen's view, to secure the affections of the nation by alarming their fears, succeeded. For, irritated by the pain which even the uncertainty of the conspiracy gave, and enraged to hear that the French and the Scotch were at the bottom of it, almost all distinctions of party subsided in an instant in England; and, as if the nation had been only one man, almost all seemed to unite for the support of government. Ten thousand Cornish tinnerns offered in an address to venture their lives in defence of the throne: The officers of the navy had, a little before, in another, abjured the late King; The common council‡ asked leave to raise the militia, consisting of 9000 men; and the lieutenantcy to raise 6000 more: The citizens made a contribution to maintain two regiments of cavalry: And, whatever might be the divisions among the higher ranks of the nation, the great body of the people gave, every where, unquestionable signs of their loyalty.

Loyalty of
the nation.

But now the truth of the conspiracy was confirmed, and its terror augmented by the arrival of the French fleet upon the coast of England, at the time and place which had been concerted. Eight days after William

Tourville,
with the
fleet, arrives
on the coast.

* There are accounts of his expedition, and the success of it, in the records of the Scottish privy council, anno 1690.

† Ibid. 19th August. Balcarras.

‡ Life of King William III. p. 195.

failed

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failed for Ireland, *Monf. Tourville*, with 78 great ships of war, posted himself off *Plymouth*. The armament was made more formidable, by an addition which had been made to the original project, by the *Marquis de Seignelai*, son to the famous *Colbert*. *Colbert's* family was originally of Scottish extraction; and, as *Seignelai* was young and vain, the Scotch who surrounded him filled his mind with the glory of making *King James* owe his restoration to one of the descendants of their countrymen. *Seignelai*, therefore, sent 22 fire-ships, and a great number of frigates with the fleet; formed a resolution to go on board one of the frigates himself, and, after *Tourville* had defeated the enemy, to sail along the coast of England with the small ships, enter the harbours as he passed along, and burn the ships wherever he came. *Lord Torrington* was then at *St. Helens*, with no more than 40 ships of war: For only part of the fleet which had sailed to Spain and the Mediterranean was returned, and that part was blocked up at *Plymouth*; the ships which attended the King were still in Ireland; and only a few of the Dutch squadron had as yet joined the English: So that the position of the French cut off *Torrington* from all hopes of making a junction sufficient to fight them with success. He called a council of war, in which it was agreed to avoid fighting, and sent the result of it to the Queen. In the mean time the French advanced through the channel, and *Torrington* followed them close as they sailed eastward, sometimes in sight of them, and sometimes not, but keeping always between them and the coasts, in order to protect these, and in case a battle should be forced upon him, to make the enemy's superiority in number of less use in a narrow sea.

Receives orders to fight;

The Queen referred the opinion of the council of war to *Admiral Russel*, the only person in the cabinet council who

who was acquainted with sea affairs. By this time news had arrived, that sixteen more ships from Holland and the coasts of England had joined the English fleet. Ruffel took advantage of the accident; and, either from the contempt of French naval force natural to an English officer, or in order to remove the only rival who lay in his way to the supreme command of the navy, gave his opinion, that Torrington's force was sufficient for venturing a battle. Nor were plausible topics wanting to support his opinion: "The superiority of English and Dutch ships and seamen over French; the consciousness of that superiority in the seamen, which always makes men out-do themselves; the disgrace to the new government, if it should yield the empire of the sea in its own channel. The French had quitted their station at Plymouth; they had passed the Isle of Wight; they were advancing rapidly through the channel; they would soon be in the river, and shake the metropolis itself with their armament. A victory would save the nation from insurrection and invasion united. It would save the ports of England, and the transports attending the King, (the last of which were now cut off from all aid, except that which was to be found in the victory of the fleet,) from the fire ships and frigates of the French; an armament more mischievous in its consequences, than even the grand fleet which covered it. - Defeat would not be attended with its usual fatal consequences; because the seamen could easily run the ships into harbours upon their own coasts, and still defend their country after their honour was lost." Harassed with suspense and alarms, and finding relief from passion, in resolutions of despair, the Queen sent positive orders to Torrington to engage.

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and is de-
feated at
Beachy-
head.

The order reached him near Beachy-head. He had been then some days in sight of the French fleet, but which, conscious of the prudence of the stations he took, had proceeded with caution, and had not ventured to attack him. But, upon receiving the Queen's orders, he quitted the coast, and advanced into the open sea against the enemy, who formed in regular order to receive him. His fleet consisted of 22 Dutch ships and 34 English. The Dutch admiral Evertsen, the same man who had sailed to England with the Prince of Orange, commanded the van, which was composed of the Dutch squadron; and Torrington, the main body. But there was this difference between the admirals, that the one fought for glory: For Evertsen was proud to save England a second time, and to wipe off the complaints which the English had made against his countrymen, for having failed to come up in time, the year before, to the battle of Bantry-bay: But the other, trusting to the greatness of his character for his glory, reflected, that the safety of his country was intrusted to him. Hence, whilst Torrington came on with slowness and regularity, Evertsen hastened forwards, out-failed him, passed part of the enemy's van without firing a shot, and plunged into the middle of the remaining part of it. By this means he left a great opening between his squadron and Torrington's, who did not come up till an hour after. The French instantly filled this opening with a great number of their ships, thus cutting off the van from the main body: And then part of them making head against Torrington, the rest closed in upon Evertsen's squadron on one side, while that part of the van which he had rashly passed, turned and surrounded it on the other. In this situation, the French spent all their fury against the Dutch squadron, and lay only on the defensive against the English. Torrington, conscious of the superiority of his enemies, and of the misfor-

misfortunes of his allies, now made all his honour consist in bringing those off with whom he could not conquer; and, after many efforts, got, in about five hours, between the Dutch and the main body of the enemy. But perceiving soon, that the ships drove with the tide, he dropped his anchors, in hopes to separate the fleets, in case the enemy should neglect to imitate his example. His view succeeded; the French observed not what he had done, and the combatants were imperceptibly waisted away from each other. In the engagement, three of the Dutch fleet were burnt, two of their admirals killed, and almost all the rest of their ships totally disabled*. Next day, the English and Dutch declined a second battle; and retired to the Thames, to defend the metropolis, and because in the mouth of the river, they could better defend themselves against a force superior to their own. In the flight, the Dutch were obliged to burn three more of their disabled ships upon the coast, and the English one of theirs. Seignelai had been prevented from going on board the fleet by an illness which seized him, just when it was going to sail; and, in order to have all the honour of the execution to himself, he had not communicated to Tourville the detail of his scheme for attacking the English ports with the fire-ships and frigates: Torrington, upon his retreat, had given orders to take up the buoys all along the coasts. From these two circumstances, Tourville made no advantage of his small ships against the English ports: But he pursued with his great ones to Rye-bay, and there he stopped, either because he durst not venture an engagement in a narrow sea, and with an enemy driven to despair, or to see what effect the victory should produce among James's friends in England. But, as bad news are always made worse, it was reported, that he was still advancing.

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* Evertsen's letter to the States.

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Emotions in
England up-
on the news
of the de-
feat.

Whilst the two fleets had been viewing, or losing sight of each other, had been approaching, tacking, or fighting, news had been carried * almost every hour to London, of almost every motion that they made. These in a vast city, had been variously reported, according to the memories, the imaginations, the fears, and the hopes of the different men who related them: And hence suspense gave agitation to the spirits. But, when it was made certain, that the united fleets were flying for refuge to the Thames, were burning their own ships on their own coasts as they went along, to save them from the enemy; and that the French were triumphantly pursuing through the channel; a sudden despondency seized all, made deeper by the news which had arrived from Holland, four days before, that the French had beat the Dutch in a great battle at Flerus. For it was believed, that, elated with this double victory, and secure from danger from the continent, France would pour like a torrent upon England with all her forces by sea and by land; and that Holland and England would fall victims to the fatal friendship of Louis and James. Even the retreat of the French fleet, some days after, from Dungeness, continued the general dejection, by the uncertainty of sentiment it created. For, as it was seen in different views from the coasts, according to its own positions, and those of the country, as it sailed along, men knew not whether it was intended to favour different insurrections in the kingdom, or to waft an army from France, or to destroy the King's fleet and transports in Ireland, or to land the late King in England. And, whatever any person's invention could suggest as a prudent mean to hurt the nation, his credulity and his fears made him believe. The motions of the militia, which was raised along the coasts †, and of the few regiments in the kingdom, most of which were ordered

* Gazettes.

† Books of privy council, *passim*.

to take the same routes with the militia, only drew the attention of the people to the feebleness of the sole defence that was left them. Government was seized with the terrors of the people; for, in every one who was not a flatterer, the rebel was dreaded. The Queen's order * to stop the ordinary circuits through the country, threw a gloom upon the minds of all, when they reflected that she, who was to be defended by the union of her subjects, placed her safety in their silence and solitude. And, at a time when the army was in other countries, separated from their own, by seas of which their enemies were masters; the bulwark of the nation, the navy, put to flight or blocked up in its own harbours; the King absent; the reins of government in the hand of a woman; invasion impending; rebellion in one of the three kingdoms, and expected in the other two; and an exiled master returning with power and with vengeance; the British empire shook to its centre.

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In the midst of these public tempests and dangers, the Queen was distracted by the private dissensions of that cabinet council of nine, whom the King had fixed upon to provide for the union of his subjects. The Marquis of Caermarthen affected to engross all business, and even left the Queen out of it. Lord Devonshire and Lord Monmouth, in order to give the whigs a chance of recovering their lost superiority in parliament, pressed the Queen to call a new one; and the last of these persons took advantage of public necessities to offer to find her 200,000*l.* immediately if she would give her consent. Upon the defeat of the fleet Lord Caermarthen insisted that the command of it should be given to Admiral Russel, whom he disliked, in order to get rid of his presence at the cabinet. Lord Monmouth made offer of himself for the command

State of
Queen Mary.

* Books of privy council, 18 July.

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of it, and complained of bad usage when his offer was not accepted. When the Queen, following the opinion of neither, ordered the command of the fleet to be put in commission, the lords of the admiralty, who were encouraged under-hand by some of the cabinet, refused for a long time to sign the commission: And Sir Thomas Lee, one of them, having been called before her to account for this disobedience of his board, told her, "That she might issue a commission if she pleased, but that they would not." "Then," said the Queen, "I see the King has given away his power, and cannot name an admiral without consent of the admiralty." "No," answered Lee, bluntly, "no more he can't." The nomination of the commission, and even of almost every officer of the navy, was the subject of a dispute in the cabinet; Lord Marlborough and Admiral Russel opposing the Lords Caermarthen and Nottingham in all things, and the other members of the cabinet giving countenance to the contention, by taking sides as their fancies led them. Lord Monmouth was hated by the rest of the cabinet: for, that activity of spirit, which making him sometimes one of the greatest of men, made him at other times a very mean one, had led him to endeavour to instill into the Queen suspicions of their fidelity; and they believed that he entered into the strange project of throwing the secrets of the cabinet into letters writ in lemon juice to the court of St. Germain's, pretending to intercept them by means of Wildman the postmaster general, who was his creature, and then carrying them to the Queen, as proofs that her secrets were betrayed by his colleagues. While the Queen was thus distracted by the cabinet council, the privy council complained that that council engrossed all her favour and confidence. They sent her a message while they were sitting, to require her presence at the council board; and when she declined coming, they re-

fused

fused to do business without her. Even the offers of service alarmed her; for, Lord Marlborough having brought her a message from Lord Montagu and several of those who had lately lost their offices, that they would instantly raise 1200 men for her service, she excused herself from accepting; but to conceal her suspicions of the rest, put her refusal upon the ambiguity of Montagu's character. Even in one of the royal palaces she dreaded treachery; for, prayers having been neglected in the Queen Dowager's house for the King's success in Ireland, she inferred from thence the Queen's wishes for the want of it. As it is natural for the human mind to increase its present pains by the recollection of past pleasures, the Queen contrasted in her imagination the honours she had met with in a foreign land, where her husband was adored, with the mortifications she was obliged to submit to in her own country. Persons in distress long continually for solitude to brood over their miseries, and to hide them; on which account she became the more impatient of the society and pomp which continually surrounded her. One of her letters to the King at this time contains these words: "I never do any thing without thinking now it may be you are in the greatest dangers, and yet I must see company upon my set days; must play twice a-week; nay I must laugh and talk though never so much against my will. I believe I dissemble very ill to those who know me, at least 'tis a great constraint to myself; yet I must endure it. All my motions are so watched, and all I do so observed, that if I eat less, or speak less, or look more grave, all is lost in the opinion of the world; so that I have this misery, added to that of your absence and my fears for your dear person, that I must smile when my heart is ready to break, and talk when my heart is so oppressed that I can scarce breathe."

The rest of her letters to her husband are printed in the

Appen-

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1690.

The King's
arts to keep
up the spirits
of his army
in Ireland.

Appendix to this book. From these, private persons, who envying the state of princes are unhappy from their own passions, may learn the sufferings greater than theirs, to which princes are exposed from the passions of others.

While England was exposed to such tempests, spectacles equally striking were exhibiting in Ireland. The King having received news that the French fleet was sailed for the coast of England, resolved, by measures of speed and of vigour, to prevent the impression which that circumstance might make upon the minds of his soldiers; and therefore hastened to advance against James, who, he heard, had quitted Dublin, and was now at Ardee with part of his army, while the rest lay at Dundalk. All the arts of a general, and a man of sense, he put in practice, to draw the attention of his soldiers from the misfortunes of last year in Ireland, and the danger of the present. The same day upon which all his troops, from different quarters, joined at Loch-Britland, which they did upon the 22d of June, he joined them; and ordering the army to pass him, threw a march into a review*. But instead of keeping one station, he rode amongst the regiments as soon as they appeared, to encourage the soldiers, and to satisfy himself of the state of every regiment. An order having been brought him to sign for wine for his table, he said aloud, "No, he would drink water with his soldiers." He slept every night in the camp, was all the day on horseback, flew from place to place to survey the army or the country, and trusted nothing to others. While at one time he brought up the rear, with an anxiety which engaged the affections of the soldiers; at another, with a spirit which inflamed them, he was the foremost in advanced parties, if danger seemed to threaten, or the object to be known was of importance. When he approached Dundalk, he took care to avoid the place

* Story.

where the army had last year been incamped, lest the sight of the scene of past calamities might create presages of future ones; and to prevent impressions which might arise in the minds of the soldiers, from the fear of delay, he said, in their hearing, when some delay was proposed, "That he came not to Ireland, to permit the grass to grow under his feet." He made his fleet sail slowly along the coast, spread out in sight of his army as it marched, to elevate their spirits by the grandeur of the spectacle, and to confirm them by the idea of security which it conveyed *.

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The Irish army, intent to gain time, and to draw William from the sea, attacked him not, whilst he was engaged in the same difficult march which last year had given so much trouble to Schomberg; nor defended the strong pass of Newry; but, as William advanced, they fell back, first from Dundalk, and then from Ardee, although both places had been fortified during the winter. At last, upon the 29th of June, the late King fixed his camp in a strong station, on the other side of the Boyne: For, on his right, a little down the river, on the opposite side from him, lay Drogheda, possessed by his garrison; and on his left, upon the same side of the river with him, a bog difficult to pass. In his front, were the fords of the river, deep and dangerous, the banks of which were rugged, and bounded by old houses; the houses by rows of hedges in the fields; the hedges by a range of small hills; and the whole by the village of Dunore, which stood upon a height, and commanded the view of all below. In these different fastnesses his army was placed. Three miles higher up the river, stood the bridge of Slains; but the bog on the left of the camp lay between the camp and the bridge, and the communication from

James posts himself behind the Boyne. Description of his station.

* Story.

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BOOK V.
1690.

Different
opinions at
James's
councils of
war.

the one to the other was by a narrow tract of ground at the back of the bog. The station was equally secure for retreat; because, three miles behind Dunore, lay the village and pass of Dunleek, which ten men a-breast could not pass.

Here James held councils of war. The more cautious part of the Irish advised him still to avoid a battle, and to retire behind the Shannon. "In retreat," they argued, "there was no disgrace, when through security it led to victory. The chances of war were almost never so equal, that it could be alike advantageous for two generals to fight at one time. The same reasons, therefore, which impelled the Prince of Orange to a battle, pointed out that the King should avoid it. The enemy's army was at present strong in numbers, his own weak; yet those numbers, unaccustomed to the climate of Ireland, would soon moulder away as they had done last year; but his soldiers, habituated to the air of their own country, were exposed to no diminution from disease. The French were masters of the sea, his adherents in Ireland, of the land. Hence more forces were on their way to join him from abroad, and might be raised at home if he pleased; but his enemy could get an increase of numbers from neither. In retiring into the interior part of the kingdom, he could draw provisions wherever he went, from the garrisons around and behind him. But the Prince, by advancing, must lose the supplies from his fleet, and find no other in an enemy's country. To the King, the place of defeat was immaterial, at the Shannon, or the Boyne; but the defeat which the Prince might repair where he was surrounded with friends, in no want of provisions, and secure of a retreat to his ships, would be inevitable ruin, if he was cut off from all three. Even, without risking a battle at all, the war might be ended;

“ ended ; because if the French fleet should destroy the
 “ ships which attended the Prince, and block up the chan-
 “ nel between England and Ireland, his army must fall
 “ without a stroke.” But the French, who, by this
 time, were tired of the war, longed to be at home, and
 had either forgot the orders of their master to prolong it,
 or bethought themselves of apologies for not obeying
 them, and all those of warmer tempers in the army ex-
 claimed, “ That, to leave his metropolis to the mercy of
 “ the conqueror, was to surrender his kingdom. The
 “ subjects would abandon the King who abandoned him-
 “ self. The strength of his station ensured him of vic-
 “ tory. The enemy’s numbers could avail them nothing
 “ in places where there could be no general engagement,
 “ and where those who knew the ground had all the ad-
 “ vantage. It became his state, his ancient reputation
 “ in war, and his spirit, to throw his fate upon the first
 “ great cast which was presented. The English soldiers
 “ would tremble at the sight of their Sovereign standing in
 “ battle against them, but would pursue him with scorn
 “ if he fled. Heaven and earth would fight in his cause ;
 “ and the usurper’s own conscience, by terrifying and
 “ distracting him, would bereave him of the wonted
 “ powers of his mind.”

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James had privately resolved to transport himself from
 Ireland to France, in order to take advantage of the mis-
 chiefs which had been concerted there and in England,
 although he concealed his resolution, that he might not
 make that concert public. But, ashamed to fly just upon
 the approach of the enemy’s army, wearied with a state of
 uncertainty, irritated by his want of power where he was,
 and provoked even by the tone of impatience and inde-
 pendence, in which those different advices had been
 given, his pride at first made him resolve to maintain his
 post, and wait for the enemy. And, accordingly, he

James’s
 fluctuation.

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made preparations for it. Afterwards the news of the advance of the French fleet through the channel, opening new hopes, and reviving former projects, he leaned to the side of retiring with his army. For this purpose he sent off * most of his artillery and baggage, and wrote private orders † to Sir Patrick Trant, commissioner of the Irish revenue, to get a vessel ready at Waterford to transport him to France. But the sudden arrival of his opponent, upon the opposite banks of the river, reduced him to the difficult situation of maintaining the passage of the river, and of taking measures for retreat at the same time. The English army placed itself in a station which gave a full view of both armies to each other, and so near, that a cannonade immediately commenced.

The King is
wounded.

William had no sooner arrived, than he rode along the side of the river in the sight of both armies, to make his observations upon the field, which was next day to determine James's fate and his own. The enemy having observed him sit down upon the ground, whilst he was writing notes of what he had observed, sent, into a field opposite to him, a body of horse, who carried two field-pieces concealed in their centre, and had orders to drop the cannon unperceived, behind a hedge, as they marched along. These guns were deliberately aimed at his horses; and, when he mounted, were discharged. The balls killed several of his followers, and one of them wounded himself on the shoulder. A shout from the Irish camp rent the skies. A report, that he was killed, flew instantly through Ireland, and in an incredibly short space of time reached Paris. The guns of the Bastile were fired, the city was illuminated, and all men congratulated each other, as upon the greatest of victories: Triumphs for his death, flattering to the King; because they ex-

* Story, p. 77, 78.

† Gazette, July 10.

pressed the fears which his life gave to his enemies. As soon as his wound was dressed, he rode through his camp, to undeceive his friends and his foes.

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The King did not call a council of war until nine o'clock at night; and then, without asking advice of his officers, he declared his resolution to force the passage of the river next morning. For, rendered impatient by the news from England, and receiving intelligence that James was continuing to send off his artillery and baggage, and some of his troops, with a view to a retreat, he would listen to no council. Distrusting his English officers, yet sensible it was impossible to make a distinction between them and the others, he concerted not the plan of the attack with the council, but intimated that he would send to every one his orders before bed-time; a reserve which he observed even to the great Duke of Schomberg, who, ignorant of the cause of it, said, with some peevishness, when he received the order of battle*, "That it was the first which had ever been sent him."

Resolves to fight, without asking advice of a council of war.

The King directed the river to be passed in three places. Count Schomberg, son to the Marshal, was, at six o'clock in the morning, to go up the river, with the right wing of 10,000 men, consisting mostly of cavalry; to pass at some fords which the King himself had discovered below Slainbridge; and, after dispersing the troops which should oppose him there, to make his way to the pass of Dunleek, with a view to attack the enemy behind, and cut off their retreat at the same time. Some hours after this body was on its way, and whenever its success should be known, the centre under the Duke of Schomberg, in which the great body of infantry was placed, was to pass at the fords between the two camps; because, upon ground broken and unknown, only infantry could act. In the disposition of

The King's plan of the attack consists of three parts.

* Story. Life of King William.

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this part of his army, William ordered the Dutch, the Brandenburgers, the French Protestants, and the In-killingers to pass the river first; partly, because he knew the attachment of the two former to himself, and of the two latter to his religion; and partly, because he was not yet sufficiently acquainted with the Danes, and would not venture English forces to fight against one who had formerly commanded them. William was himself to go down the river with the left wing, which was composed of the rest of the cavalry, pass at a ford between the army and Drogheda, and flank the enemy whilst they were engaged. After all these things were disposed for the action of next day, William still anxious, and afraid that something had been omitted, went himself through the camp by torch-light: A piece of duty, which, by showing the vigilance and ardour of the General, communicated the same dispositions to the soldiers.

James's dispositions.

Next morning the late King, seeing the enemy drawn out, and the impossibility of a retreat without a battle, prepared himself to receive them. He had thrown up some breast-works upon the banks of the fords which lay between the two camps; and he now gave orders, if his troops were driven from these, to retire to the line of houses; if from the houses, to the hedges; if from the hedges, to the range of small hills; if from these, to Dunore; and, if they could not make that station good, they were to retire to Dunleek, and stop the pursuit by defending the pass. Even in the last order which he gave, James experienced the disobedience of his Irish subjects: For, having commanded the 5000 French, because they were veterans, and accustomed to works of defence, to place themselves in the breast-works and line of houses, the Irish cried out: "They were

Story.

"affronted;

“ affronted; the post of honour was theirs; and they
 “ would fire upon whomsoever should attempt to take it
 “ from them.” And he was obliged to place the only
 force he could depend upon, behind the Irish, among
 the range of small hills; the only place in which they
 could not effectually serve him. After these dispositions
 were made, James took his own station upon a height,
 at the church of Dunore, from whence he could view
 the operations of both armies; but with a presaging mind,
 when he reflected, that all the precautions he had taken
 were contrived to make retreat less dangerous, not to im-
 prove upon victory.

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 1690.

When James perceived Count Schomberg march off
 towards Slains, and great bodies of troops in motion
 after him, he imagined, the whole army was taking the
 same rout, and that the English, conscious of the difficulties
 of the fords between the camps, were not to attempt them.
 Fearing to be attacked on the flank, but more to be cut off
 from Dunleek, he therefore sent great bodies of troops
 successively to watch Count Schomberg, and, by this
 movement, weakened his principal army. The Count
 having out-marched the French, who on the other side
 of the river followed his motions, found little opposition
 in his passage, easily dispersing the few troops which
 arrived soonest to oppose him. The bog first stopped
 him; but, upon examination, finding it, though diffi-
 cult, not impossible to be passed, he sent his cavalry
 round by the narrow tract of firm ground at the back of
 it, and floundered through the bog with his infantry.
 The boldness of the action discouraged the enemies on
 the other side, who scarcely waited to be attacked, but
 made the best of their way to Dunleek. The Count pur-
 sued, but slowly; for he had no guides, except the fly-
 ing steps of his enemies; and the bogs and ditches,
 which they who were acquainted with their intricacies

State of the
 first part of
 the King's
 attack.

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1690.

Of the
second.

passed with ease, proved obstacles to him every minute; so that, whilst he thought he was gaining ground, he often found that he lost it*.

William had no sooner heard that Count Schomberg was got over, than he sent orders to the advanced body of the centre to cross the river. The blue Dutch guards entered first. The Brandenburgers instantly followed, impelled by national competition. The sudden resistance to the current swelled the river, so that the infantry passed it, some breast high, holding their arms above their heads, and the rest to the middle, and many of the horses were obliged to swim. The Irish troops, who, according to the manner of men insolent to their friends, were cowardly against their enemies, fled first from the breast-works and houses, and then from the hedges, after making fires confused and ill pointed †, which killed not a man. As fast as the advanced bodies got footing, they formed. The English and Danes hastened to follow them through the river. But Marshal Schomberg, anxious, and still doubting of success, in an attempt which he thought desperate, kept his station, with a strong body of troops around him, to give his assistance wherever it should be first needed. General Hamilton, who commanded the Irish cavalry, enraged at the cowardice with which the infantry of his countrymen had behaved, ordered brandy to be distributed amongst his dragoons; and then, with a rage that was rather frantic than brave, poured down upon the enemies, who were now got clear of most of the hedges, and were advancing into the open ground. At the same time new troops seemed to start from the earth; for the French, who had been hitherto undiscovered, rose now upon the sight, among the little hills, appearing

* Story. Gazette.

† Story.

more numerous than they were, from the aid which the interposition of objects gave to the imagination, and because they rose to view only by degrees. This body advanced to support Hamilton's charge with an order proportioned to his want of it. The double shock threw William's centre into disorder. The Dutch stopped: The French protestants were broken through: The English advanced slowly: The Danes, without waiting to be attacked, turned round, and fled back through the river. Part of Hamilton's dragoons plunged into it after them. Callimotte, who commanded the French protestants, the faithful partner of Schomberg in all his fortunes, was rode down. At the sight of this success, James, at intervals, is reported to have generously exclaimed, "Spare, oh spare my English subjects!" Schomberg, in the mean time, hearing of his friend's distress, and perceiving that of the centre, hastened from his station to their relief. Callimotte and Schomberg passed each other in the river, unknown, and at a distance; the one mortally wounded, carried off in his soldiers arms, and calling to those who passed him, "A la gloire, mes enfans, a la gloire!" "To glory, my children, to glory!" The other on horseback, in the deepest of the river, rallying the French protestants, pointing out to them their countrymen in the Irish army, and crying out, "Voila, Messieurs, vos persecuteurs." "There, gentlemen, are your persecutors." In the mean time, that part of Hamilton's dragoons which had entered the river, finding their career stopped, returned to their own side of the river, and, in their way breaking through the French protestants a second time, wounded Schomberg, and hurried him along; and his own men firing upon them, without

• Goldsmith.

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knowing he was amongst them, killed him. Hamilton's charge on the one side, and the relief which Schomberg had brought on the other, gave time for both parties to rally, and prepare for a renewal of the engagement*.

Of the third.

But, whilst they were standing opposite to each other, William, who had passed the river below, appeared at the head of his cavalry, with his sword drawn, his arm thrown loose of its bandage, inflaming his men with his voice, and preparing to fall upon the enemy's flank. At this fight they retired to the strong station of Dunore. He followed with his cavalry: His infantry advanced: And, in the mean time, all the enemy's forces, except that part which was retiring to Dunleek, gathered from all quarters around their King. At this place the battle lasted half an hour, with various success, representing in the standards, the looks, the dresses, and the language of the combatants, the horrors of civil and foreign war mixed together; because, while different nations were opposed to one another in some places, French subjects fought with French subjects, and British with British in others. In the heat of the action†, one of William's dragoons, mistaking him, clapped a pistol to his head. The King turning it aside, said calmly to the soldier, "What, do you not know your friends?" The Irish infantry at length gave way. Hamilton, with his cavalry, again attempted to recover the battle, and had almost succeeded, but was taken prisoner. James seeing this, and hearing that Count Schomberg was still making his way to Dunleek, quitted his station, while the armies were yet fighting; and leaving orders for the army to retire to defend the pass of Dunleek, and afterwards to fall back to the Shannon, he himself, with his principal officers‡, fled. Upon hearing this, William asked General Ha-

* Story. Gazette. Life of King William.

† Burnet, 2. 55.

‡ Story. Gazette.

Hamilton, who was brought prisoner before him, if he thought the Irish army would fight any more? Hamilton answered, "Upon my honour, I believe they will." The King, with that short but strong manner of speaking which was natural to him, muttered, "Your honour! your honour!" alluding to Hamilton's former breach of it to him: And then, without losing time to put his troops in order, directed a pursuit from all quarters. The hurry of the flight, and of the pursuit, prevented the enemy from defending the pass of Dunleek, and the victory became complete. Two thousand of the Irish were killed; the English lost not above a fourth part of that number.

The late King went first to Dublin, and next to Waterford, breaking down all the bridges behind him, by the suggestions of the French officers, who, impatient to revisit their own country, urged him to fly from Ireland, and added wings to his fears. In his flight, he received a letter written with Louis XIV.'s own hand, in which that monarch informed him of the victory of Flerus, which had put it in his power to draw his garrisons from Flanders to the coast, and of the station his fleet had taken, which prevented his enemies from succouring each other. In this letter, Louis urged him to sail instantly for France, and to leave the conduct of the war to his generals, with orders to protract it; and promised to land him in England with 30,000 men: A letter which, while it filled James with hopes, covered him, at the same time, with mortifications, when he reflected upon the contrast between his own situation and that of his ally. In his passage, he met the French fleet of frigates, with which Seignelai had originally intended to burn the English shipping on the coast of England, and which was now destined to burn William's transports upon the coast of Ireland; but communicating to other

James's
flight to
France.

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William
enters Dub-
lin.The Irish
army rallies
at the Shan-
non.Conse-
quences of
victory in
England and
Holland.

nations the bad fortune which attended himself, he carried it back to France with him for the security of his person.

The day after the battle, William summoned Drogheda to surrender: The governor hesitated; but, in the importance of the crisis, the King thought himself justified in threatening to put the garrison to the sword, if it made any resistance. It instantly yielded. A few days after, he made his entry into Dublin, where, in compliment to the devotion of the Irish protestants, the first place he repaired to was the cathedral.

In the mean time, the Irish army had fled directly to the Shannon. There they were joined by James's principal officers, who, after taking their farewell of him, returned, to continue the war, and explain the cause of his retreat. For James, having unguardedly said, while he hastened through Dublin, that he would never again trust his fate to an Irish army; his soldiers, upon hearing it, exclaimed: "Complaints of cowardice came ill
" from the mouth of one who had been the first to fly
" from the battle, and the only person, not of foreign
" birth, who had fled from the kingdom; and that if
" the English would change Kings with them, they
" would fight the battle over again *."

When the news of these successes arrived in England, William, who had so lately been unpopular, became the idol of a nation which loves to hear of fighting. The populace made amends for all the clamour they had raised against the Dutch, extravagant in the praises of their seamen, and unjust to their own. As in unfortunate engagements all lay the blame upon one, to take it off themselves, the seamen complained of the conduct of Torrington. The Queen and her ministers took ad-

* Story, 2. p. 100. Life of King William.

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vantage of these popular currents. In order to save the honour of national courage, they imputed Torrington's conduct to his treachery: And, in order to remove the indignation of the Dutch from the English nation, by directing it to a particular person, Lord Nottingham wrote a letter to the English envoy at the Hague, which laid all the blame upon Torrington; and care was taken to translate and publish it in the Dutch Gazettes. The Queen also in a message of condolence, sent by a special envoy to the States *, expressed her sorrow, "That they had not been seconded as they ought to have been;" and, to mark against whom this expression was levelled, she, at the same time, sent Torrington to the Tower. She also repaired the Dutch ships at her own charge. Their wounded seamen † were taken care of in hospitals, preferably to the English: A generosity, of which the last complained not. Rewards were given to the widows and children of those who had died in battle, and conduct-money to the seamen whose ships had been burnt, to carry accounts to their countrymen of the noble nature of that nation in whose cause they had suffered. Pleased with these attentions, the States fitted out 18 new ships of war, laid an embargo upon their trade until they were manned; levied new troops at home; hired others from other nations; and sent a stronger army into the field, than that which had been defeated at Flerus. The English ordered 12 new ships to be built ‡, all the old ones to be repaired, and new seamen and soldiers to be levied. And all Europe was convinced of this truth, that nations which join freedom to wealth rise always stronger from defeat.

Before the French King heard of James's defeat at the Boyne, he had, in order to execute his great project of ending the war at a blow, brought his fleet back to

Louis drops
the scheme
of an invasion,
July 8.

* Gazette.

† Books of privy council, 3d and 21th July.

‡ Gazette, July 17.

France,

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and refuses
to land
James in
England.

Sends Tour-
ville to burn
Tinnmouth.
July 25.

France, at the time he expected that Prince from Ireland, intending to use it in transporting him with an army into England. But when he saw James return defeated, and bringing back with him that squadron which was sent to destroy his enemies; and found, that, instead of insurrections in Britain, the conspirators were seized, and the nation united as one man against his friend, because supported by him; and that, instead of invading others, he might soon be obliged to defend himself from invasion by land and by sea; he laid aside his project.

Upon this occasion, James experienced one of those cruel reverses of fortune which made him often think and say, He was born to be her sport. Louis waited upon him, as soon as he arrived at St. Germain. James, buoyed up with the hopes which that Prince's late letter had suggested, and with those flatteries which attend upon Kings even when they are exiles, imagined that so sudden a visit was made, in order to concert the manner of his embarkation for England; and was therefore the more severely disappointed, when he understood, that the intention of it was to make apologies for relinquishing the expedition altogether. The English monarch in vain reminded the French one, of the assurances which his letter had given him. In vain he offered to go on board the fleet either with an army or without one, saying, "He was certain his own seamen would never fight against one, under whom they so often had conquered." Louis answered with one of those graceful but insincere compliments which were habitual to him: "It was the first favour he had refused to his friend, and it should be the last."

Before the English and Dutch preparations could be ready, however, Louis sent Tourville's fleet, on the 21st of July, once more to brave the coast of England. It hovered a few days, spreading more resentment than alarms; and concluded by burning the insignificant town

of

of Tinmouth, with a few fishing-vessels in the harbour. Fired with these insults the son of the prudent Lord Caermarthen, and the discontented Lord Shrewsbury, pressed equally to be permitted to take the command of the fleet against the enemies of their country*. The English, who had been so lately dejected, now recovered their spirits, denied they had ever been frightened, and hoped to make others believe them, in the ridicule which they threw upon the late bravadoes of the French.

The enmities and the friendship of Louis XIV. were equally fatal, at this time, to sovereign princes. The brave and unfortunate Duke of Lorrain, having been called to Vienna, to receive the command of an army which was to reinstate him in the dominions which France had taken from him, died at a small village in his way. Perceiving his end to approach, he wrote these affecting lines to the Emperor: "I departed from Inspruck, to come and receive your orders. Our God calls me hence, and I am going to render him an account of a life which I had devoted to you. I humbly beseech your Majesty to remember my wife, who is nearly related to you, my children, whom I leave without any fortune, and my subjects, who are oppressed."

In the mean time, William in Ireland did not make all the advantage of his success which had been expected. The news of the French victory at sea, which he received a few days after his own, disconcerted him. He found himself also under difficulties in the use he should make of the victory of the Boyne. If he followed the Irish army across the island, into the interior part of the country, into which it was retired, he saw that his fleet would be left exposed in open harbours, to the depredations of the French, who were now masters of the sea: Or if, to gain

The King's
progress in
Ireland.

* Vide Appendix.

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protection for his ships, he should spend his time in taking the towns that were spread along the sea-coast, the enemy's army might recover from their consternation, and make head against him a-new. He chose the safest course, and proceeded south along the sea-coast; yet he sent General Douglas after the flying enemies, with ten regiments of foot, and five of cavalry, to try if, by the suddenness of the motion, he could disperse them. William, in his march, took Wexford, Waterford, and Duncannon fort; and, having put his fleet into places of safety, left the army on the 27th July, to return to England with five regiments, upon receiving intelligence that the French fleet was a second time upon the coast. But, when he heard that it was gone away, after burning Timmouth, and that all things were quiet in England, he returned to the army; and, on the 8th of August, advanced to Limerick, around which most of the enemy's army was gathered. General Douglas, who had in vain pursued the enemy, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon Athlone, joined him according to orders at Limerick.

He besieges
Limerick.
Aug. 9.

The garrison consisted of 14 regiments of foot and five of cavalry. Tyrconnel lay eight miles off with a considerable body; the French, who had not as yet got shipping to return to their own country, were at Galway; and the garrison had a communication with these aids, because as the town stood upon two branches of a rapid river, William durst not separate his army, but made all his attempts upon the English side of the river. He was encouraged by the ease with which he surmounted his first difficulties*: The approach to the town upon the side which he intended to attack, was by a pass 150 yards broad running between two bogs. The pass was cut by a number of hedges, and was terminated at the end next

* Story, 2. 113.

the town by an old fort, which had been built by Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law. The enemies had indeed lined the hedges with infantry; but they had so little knowledge of defence, that they made no use of the fort. The day after the King and Douglas arrived, the pioneers, under the protection of the van, cut down the hedges of the pass one after another; and the army followed in order. The Irish fired from hedge to hedge, retreating always after one fire; so that William's difficulty lay more in clearing the way, than in beating the enemy. In this manner he got through the pass, and found shelter for part of his troops in the old fort. His approaches were made only with his field train, and a few mortars, because the battering cannon which he had ordered to follow him were not yet come up. The governor was Boiseflot, a Frenchman, who answered to the summons of surrender, "That he wished to gain the Prince of Orange's good opinion, and he could not expect it, unless he should defend his post well."

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Aug. 9.

Three days after the siege was commenced, Colonel Sarfield, having got intelligence, that the battering cannon, and great part of the ammunition, and other things necessary for a siege, were expected to arrive at the camp next morning, but that they were slenderly guarded, from over-security with respect to a foe that was every where retiring, went secretly out of the town in the night-time with a strong body of cavalry, and lurked eight miles behind the King's camp in the mountains till the convoy arrived. He spiked the cannon, blew up the ammunition, destroyed the rest of the convoy, before succours could arrive, and returned unhurt to his friends in the town, through the same secret path by which he had issued.

His convoy
cut off.

Irritated, not discouraged, and still too much despising an Irish enemy, the King continued the siege, the rather because the same old fort and pass which might have em-

He storms
the town
unsuccess-
fully;

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1690.

August 27.

barrasted him in advancing, secured his retreat if he failed of success. The tenth day after the trenches were opened, he ordered a general storm at a breach twelve yards wide. The troops advanced boldly, carried the counterscarp, mounted the breach, and part of them entered the town. But the inhabitants, eager to give that defeat to King William, which those of Londonderry had given to King James, animated the garrison. Even the women, from the same emulation, filled the places which the soldiers had quitted. The garrison rallied: More troops poured into the town from the country behind: Both joining, beat the English back, sallied through the breach, and pursued even to the camp, which they entered in their turn. Amidst the gloom which the horrors of civil war threw over the minds of men, one pleasing ray of humanity appeared at this sally: For in the confusion, the English hospital, having by accident taken fire, part of the victorious Irish stopped the pursuit, and rushing into the flames to quench them, saved the lives of their enemies, at the hazard of their own *: After a dispute of three hours, William regained his camp, but with the loss of 500 of his English troops killed, and 1000 wounded, besides the loss of the foreigners, which was probably as great, because in the attack they were equal in numbers to the English. He raised the siege soon after, and the same day set off for England, leaving Count Solmes to command the army. But Solmes leaving it likewise soon after, General Ginkell, a Dutchman, was put in his place †.

August 30.
and raises
the siege.

The Duke
of Marlbo-
rough's ex-
pedition.

The triumph of the Irish was short-lived. The city of Cork was accounted strong from the works which the Irish and French had made, and it was possessed by a garrison of 4000 men: But Lord Marlborough, knowing that there was a station which made the works of little

* O'Halloran.

† Gazette.

1690.

avail, and having got certain intelligence that the French fleet was laid up for the season, pressed the Queen and council, to trust him with 5000 of the troops who were then lying idle in England, and pawned his reputation, that he would take both Cork and Kingsale before winter. They yielded to that confidence of success which in great genius is irresistible; and he arrived at Cork upon the twenty-first of September. The Duke of Wirtemberg joined him with 4000 Danes, to rob him of half the glory that should be gained, by insisting for an equality in command, under pretence that he was a sovereign Prince, although he was a younger officer in rank, and brought only auxiliaries with him. Lord Marlborough felt the arrogance, yet pretended he did not; and, by yielding his private honour to the public safety, insured both. They agreed to command alternately each day. The English general commanded first; but, to show the same superiority over his rival, in politeness, as in reason, he gave out for the word of the day, "Wirtemberg." The Prince then felt, for the first time, that he had been in the wrong; and, when his turn came, gave for the word of the day, "Marlborough." Their succeeding struggles were only directed to show who should best deserve the command, and could give most assistance to the other. From their ships they stormed the fort which defended the harbour, and bombarded the harbour and the town. From the station which Lord Marlborough had remarked, they made a breach in the walls; and the army, under the cover of the batteries, and two bomb vessels, passed the river, up to the arm-pits, to mount the breach. But, at the instant when the soldiers were approaching the walls, the garrison, upon the fourth day of the siege, hung out a flag, and surrendered at discretion. Next day, Lord Marlborough sent brigadier Villers, with 500 horse, to summon Kingsale. The governor set fire to the old

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town, and retired to the two forts. On the last of September, the siege was begun. On the 2d of October, one of the forts was taken by storm. The governor was summoned anew. His answer was: "It would be time enough to talk of that matter a month hence." On the 5th, the trenches were opened. In ten days more, the counterescarp being mastered, an assault was ready, when the garrison of 1500 men surrendered, and was conducted by capitulation to Limerick. Marlborough returned to London upon the 28th of October *, vain, that like a foldier, he had kept his word; but secretly indignant, that it was not put oftner to the test. The nation received him with acclamations, observing, with a mixture of honest pride and malignant jealousy, that an English officer had done more in a month than all the King's foreign generals had done in two campaigns.

Vigorous
measures of
parliament.

Upon William's return from Ireland, he assembled his parliament on the 2d of October. In his speech he mentioned for the first and the last time of his reign, the joy with which the people had received him in the counties through which he had passed: A seeming puerility, yet a pleasing one; because it marked that he loved popularity, although he was too proud to show it. With more authority, he demanded from parliament, vast assistance for the support of the war and of the crown, and concluded with these words: "Whoever goes about to obstruct or divert your application to these matters preferably to all others, can neither be my friend nor the kingdom's." An insinuation which was thought to strike at the freedom of debate, but which was overlooked in the present stream of his popularity. The parliament, which is generally led by the passions of the people, while it pretends to direct them, was seized with a transport of loyalty. For the Tories ran before the King's wishes, to cement their

* Gazette, Oct. 30.

new friendship; the whigs did not oppose him, lest they might lose him altogether; and all wise men perceived the necessity of national effort from the dangers which the nation had so lately escaped. They provided, therefore, four millions, the greatest sum that had ever been given by an English parliament, for the support of the ordnance, of the army, which was to consist of 69,000 men, and of the fleet, which was to be manned by 28,000 seamen. After they had given this sum, they raised near 500,000*l.* more, for the building of 17 new ships of war: A measure which the King suggested after all the other supplies had been granted, and which was instantly approved of. And the session went on almost without a division upon any measure of government.

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One thing however was brought into the house of commons which was disagreeable to the court. William had many friends and officers who had served him long and faithfully, at periods of his life when they could expect little reward for their services. The parsimony of the English parliament had put it out of the King's power to make them partake of his better fortune. He therefore intended to show his sense of their fidelity, by bestowing upon them some of the Irish forfeited estates. In order to disappoint this intention, a motion was made for an address to apply a million out of those estates for the services of the public. But it was over-ruled by the court interest. A bill was next brought in for applying the forfeited estates themselves to the same purpose. But the court got a clause added, that the crown should have the disposal of a third of them, and the bill itself put off from time to time. Soon after the King, to draw a veil over the dispute altogether, prorogued the parliament, with a promise, that he would make no grants of these forfeitures until there should be another opportunity of settling that matter in parliament.

Dispute about Irish forfeitures.

31 January.

In

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1690.
Torrington's trial.

In order to oblige the Dutch, or perhaps to give way to that severity of temper which the King indulged against military miscarriage, he had, in his speech to parliament, threatened vengeance against those who had misbehaved in the late sea-engagement: A menace directed to Lord Torrington, and against which therefore that Lord prepared himself. The King gave orders to try him by a court-martial. But Torrington objected, that, as the office of Lord High Admiral was in commissioners, he could not be tried by a court-martial, sitting under their authority; and that, therefore, his peers alone were his judges. To obviate this, an act of parliament was obtained, vesting all the powers of the High Admiral in the commissioners; A measure which injured the law under pretence of respecting it. Torrington's defence was vigorous, suited to the pride of the man, and to his indignation. He proved his inferiority in strength to the enemy; and that all his captains had given their opinions against venturing a battle. He reminded his judges of the wounds which some of them had seen him receive. He pointed to the socket of the eye^a, which he had lost in the cause of his country. He asserted the Dutch were destroyed by their own rashness: "And I trust," said he "that an English court-martial will not sacrifice me, who have saved the English fleet and England, to a foreign, and to a Dutch resentment." The court was composed chiefly of men averse from his interest: Yet honour, displeasure with the King for interposing where the character of an officer was concerned, and the reflection common to most officers, that Torrington's fate might be their own at another time, prevailed, and they acquitted him. The King, however, dismissed him from his service, would never again admit him to his presence, and placed

^a Dr. Campbell, vol. iii. p. 313.

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his rival Ruffel in his stead: Severities which displeased those of higher ranks, who thought that recent faults might have been overlooked for the sake of ancient services, and that it is the part of kings often to pardon after condemnation, but never to condemn after acquittal. But the multitude was pleased, partly from that envy which they always entertain against their superiors; and partly, because they connected together Torrington's previous unwillingness to engage, with his succeeding flight in the engagement.

In the mean time, the differences between the Irish and French, which had been kept in some awe by James's presence, broke all bounds after he quitted Ireland. Duels and assassinations happened daily amongst them; and the troops were obliged to be kept in separate districts, to prevent even the bands themselves from encountering. In this situation the French officers represented continually to their own court, that their aid in Ireland was unavailing; and that the minds of the Irish were sufficiently imbittered against each other to continue the war, although foreign interposition was withdrawn. Upon these representations, and from an impolitic parsimony natural to French councils; the French in the beginning of winter recalled their troops from Ireland. To make some apology for this measure, the French King flattered James with the prospect of landing him in England at Christmas*, when the English and Dutch fleets would be laid up for the winter: But afterwards he retracted the offers he had made. James, stung with the double disappointment, and conscious that the miseries of Ireland brought advantage only to the French, sent orders to Tyrconnel to quit Ireland, and to make the best terms for his countrymen that he could.

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BOOK

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Causes
the
nuance
the war
Ireland

* State Trials, 3. p. 833.

But

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But an imprudent measure which had been taken by William, in the heat of victory, prolonged the miseries of that country. He had published an amnesty immediately after the battle of the Boyne; but, in pursuit of the project which he had for some time entertained of making the fortunes of his followers out of the Irish estates that were forfeited, he made an exception from the amnesty, "of the desperate leaders of the present rebellion*;" words general and indefinite, which every man in rebellion applied to himself, and which therefore tied him the firmer to his party. Hence the Irish had continued the war during the summer, after James had seemed to relinquish it: And hence the Irish officers now opposed that peace which Tyrconnel pressed upon them, being apprehensive lest they should fall a sacrifice to it. Tyrconnel, finding it impossible to execute one part of his master's orders, obeyed the other, and returned to France. The Duke of Berwick, however, continued some time among the Irish, to try if he could keep them in order. But, deserted by their Sovereign, their allies, and their governor, they spurned at his authority, and declared, "They would find their own resources, and trust to them alone." Berwick, impatient of his situation, returned to France without orders, and left the command of the army to Sarsfield, who was become popular among his countrymen, upon account of the defeat he had given to the King's attempt upon Limerick, and who, having been himself attainted, found his interest and revenge as a rebel, united to his glory as a General, in the prolongation of the war.

Miseries of
Ireland during the
winter.

As long as the summer lasted, the Irish of both sides had kept up their spirits, because that season had passed in various successes to both. But, when the armies retired

* Gazette, July 10.

to their winter quarters, the people of Ireland found themselves oppressed with miseries which admitted of no alleviation, because they were attended with no variety*. The armies spread themselves in parties placed at small distances from each other, all over the frontiers of the provinces they possessed, to cover them, and to get provisions and forage with the greater ease. Whilst the armies had been ranged in camps against each other, the common laws of war were observed, because it was the interest of all to respect them; and the soldiers had not injured the country, partly because they were supplied from public magazines and by public officers, and partly because they still however depended for many things upon the country-people. But they had no sooner got into cantonments, than they indulged in the wantonness of cruelty, because it was attended with no danger; and plundered friends and foes alike, for which the want of pay among the English †, and the brass pay of the Irish soldiers, furnished them with excuses. The Germans, French, and Danes, of the English army, declared, without scruple, that they considered themselves as in an enemy's country ‡; and they were too numerous to be punished. The French, on the Irish side, acted the same part as long as they continued in Ireland, and were besides instigated by injuries given and received. The Dutch almost alone respecting their Prince and themselves, preserved their national modesty. The situation of the cantonments soon brought on a partisan war during the winter, and then the miseries of Ireland became complete. For the spirits of men had been imbibited to an unusual degree against each other, by the ancient antipathies between English and Irish, the later between

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* Story passim.

† King's speech, October 2, 1690.

‡ Letter from Lord Gallway to Lord Nottingham, March 14, 1692; and others in the Paper-office. Burnet, a. p. 66.

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protestant and papist, and the present between royalist and rebel; but above all, by the resentment for the introduction of foreign troops into the kingdom, which both sides complained of and practised. A great part of the men of rank had been attainted by the English, and a much greater by the Irish parliament. And both of these found now their safety and their pleasure united, in taking vengeance against those who had proscribed them. The middling ranks of men, harassed by the armies and by their superiors, saw that their only security lay in taking side with one of the parties, to prevent their being treated as enemies by both, and to plunder others instead of being plundered themselves; pretending principle, therefore, they formed themselves into militias, where they could not be admitted into the troops, and increased the havoc of war.

Manners of
the Rapparees.

But the chief disorders came from the lowest class of the nation called Rapparees*. The genius of nations often depends upon the food with which they are nourished. When men obtain subsistence without any exertion of industry, they become indifferent with regard to their clothing and habitation; and indifference to these creates a habit of indolence in every thing else. The potatoe root, upon which most of the common people of Ireland subsisted, while it increased the population, debased the character of the lower ranks of the nation; because a man by the work of a few days could raise as much food as was sufficient to maintain him during the rest of the year. The Rapparee was the lowest of the low people. He lived in the country upon that root alone. In his clothing, he was half naked. His house consisted of a mud-wall, and a few branches of trees, covered with grass or bushes, one end of the branch

* Story, 1. p. 16. 2. p. 68.

being

being stuck into the ground, and the other laid upon the wall; a fabric which could be erected in an hour. He was a part rather of the spot on which he grew, than of the community to which he belonged; or when he entered into society, he did it with all the selfishness and ferocity of uncivilized nature. Each party hunted out these people against the other, though the instrument of vengeance often recoiled upon themselves: For the Raparces knew little difference between friend and foe, receiving no mercy, they gave none, and, not regarding their own lives, they were always masters of those of other men. They rendezvoused during the night, coming to some solitary station, from an hundred places at once, by paths which none else knew*. There, in darkness and deserts, they planned their mischievous expeditions. Their way of conducting them was, sometimes to make incursions from a distance in small bodies, which, as they advanced, being joined at appointed places by others, grew greater and greater every hour: And, as they made these incursions at times when the moon was quite dark, it became impossible to trace their steps, except by the cries of those whom they were murdering, or the flames of the houses, barn-yards, and villages, which they burnt as they went along. At other times they hung about the cantonments of the troops, under pretence of asking written protections, or of complaining that they had been driven from their country by the other army. It was difficult to detect, or to guard against them till too late, seeing they went unarmed, and more with the appearance of being overcome with fears themselves, than of giving them to others†. But they carried the locks of their muskets in their pockets, or hid them in dry holes of old walls, and they laid the muskets themselves charged, and closely

PART II.
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* Story, 2. p. 50.

† Ibid. p. 152.

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corked up at the muzzle and touch-hole, in ditches, with which they were acquainted. So that bodies of regular troops often found themselves defeated in an instant, they knew not how or from whence. Their retreat was equally swift and safe; because they ran off into bogs, by passages with which others were unacquainted, and hiding themselves in the unequal surfaces formed by the bog-grass, or laying themselves all along, in muddy water, with nothing but the mouth and nostrils above, it became more easy to find game than the fugitives. These people gave an unusual horror to the appearance of war; for they mangled the bodies of those whom they slew, partly from rage, and partly to strike terror; and they tore corsees from the graves, for the sake of their shrouds*.

From these springs flowed the bitterest waters of misery, upon a nation naturally martial, without employment, and not debilitated by commerce or luxury. For, while some of the Irish took a side in the civil war from principle, and therefore carried it on with all the keenness which principle inspires, more chose theirs, with a view to enrich themselves at the expence of their friends, or to take their revenge against their enemies. The former perverted the names and rules of justice, to serve their cause. For they condemned many to die without trial, and called this the law of war; But these were the most fortunate; seeing, to others to whom a trial was offered† the false semblance of justice was more cruel than the death it inflicted. Among the

* Story passim.—Story's list of persons who died in the Irish war, contains the following three articles: Rapparees killed by the army or militia, 1928—Rapparees killed and hanged by soldiers and others, without any ceremony, 112.—Murdered privately by the Rapparees, 800. Story, 2. p. 317.

† Books of privy council, June 6, 1689. Gazette, May 1, 1689. Books of Scottish privy council.

latter,

latter, even the virtues of war were lost: For prisoners were massacred in cold blood who had surrendered upon terms; those who had refused to take quarter in battle, turned informers after it against their friends; and bands were not tied together by friendship, or faith, or pride, but only by common dangers, or society in crimes. Both sides joined against the persons who took no side, either from the contempt which men who carry arms entertain of those who do not, or perhaps, because they felt a cessation of their own miseries, while they were inflicting them upon others. Yet one thing was wanting, which, in other wars of fellow citizens, degrades human nature: The opponents changed not their principles or parties; not their principles, because their declarations of them had been too open and too bold to be retracted; not their parties, because the consciousness of injury made them despair of pardon, and prevented all treaty.

Thus, in one little kingdom, incircled every where by the sea, and shut up by an embargo, circumstances which disabled those to fly from it, who wished to fly, all the horrors of foreign, of civil, or religious, and of private war, were united*.

* Story. Gazette. Proclamations, Irish correspondence in the Paper-office.

A P P E N D I X

T O

B O O K V.

In King William's Box is Lord Annandale's confession of the Scotch part of the first conspiracy against King William.

A full and faithful Account of the Conspiracy William Earl of Annandale was with others engaged in against the Government, written from the Earl's own Mouth by Sir William Lockhart, and delivered by the Earl to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, the 14th Day of August, 1690.

AFTER the first adjournment of the Scotch parliament in year 1689, the Earl of Annandale, Lord Roſs, Sir James Montgomery of Scallmorlie, came to London, contrary to the King's expreſs command, and preſented an addreſs to his Maſteſty, which (with a paper called the vindication of it, written by Mr. Robert Ferguſon, as Sir James Montgomery told the Earl, who furniſhed him the materials) gave ſuch offence to the King, as made us quickly ſee we had totally loſt the King's favour. Thus the Earl continued in London without entering into any deſign till the beginning of December, about which time Sir James Montgomery, who is perhaps the worſt and moſt reſtleſs man alive, came to the Earl, and propoſed to him, that, ſeeing there was no hopes of doing any thing with the King,
we

we ought to apply ourselves to King James, who was our lawfull prince, and who would no doubt give us what preferments and employments we pleased. To this purpose several days we discoursed, and the Earl having agreed to the proposition, it was thereafter proposed by Sir James to the Lord Rofs, who after much difficulty engaged therein. Then did we meet, and consider the most proper ways of making our application to the late King; but Sir James Montgomery had already so ordered that matter, that the Lord Rofs and the Earl had little more to do but to say Amen. For at this time he produced three papers, all writt with his own hand. First, A commission for one to represent the late King in parliament. Second, Instructions to his commissioner, consisting, to the best of the Earl's memory, of 32 articles. The third, A declaration calculated for Scotland; all which were to be sent to, and signed by the late King. The person who was to carry this extraordinary message, and which seemed of greatest difficulty, was as ready as the rest, who was one Simpson, whose acquaintance the Lord Rofs and the Earl owed to Sir James. Some days after, the Earl was conducted by Sir James to the Fleet prison, where they again discoursed the whole affair with Simpson and Nevil Payne, and declares he was, in all, three times there with the same company, only the Lord Rofs was once with them. Thereafter the Earl had two other meetings on this subject, the one in his own lodgings, and the other at the Globe tavern near Northumberland house, where were present Sir James, Mr. Simpson, Capt. Williamson, Sir Robert Clerk, and the Lord Rofs, who was only at one of them, but does not remember which. Williamson and Clerk did at this time resolve to go to France with Simpson. The next and last meeting the Earl had in England on this affair, was at Capt. Williamson's house
near

near Hyde Park, where all the above-named persons, except Nevil Payne, were present. We looked over all the papers were to go with Simpson, and the credentials he was to have from us was signed there, which was produced under Sir James Montgomery's hand in black ink, and writ over in white ink either by Clerk or Williamson, and signed with white ink by the Earl, Lord Ross, and Sir James. The substance of it was, that they were sorry they had departed from that duty and allegiance they owed to King James, great assurances to be faithfull for the future, telling the necessity of satisfying the people of Scotland in the method prescribed, and that there might be full credit given to the bearer, which with the forementioned papers were at this time delivered to Simpson, who carried them to Ireland by the way of France. This is all the Earl remembers to have been transacted in England in this matter. And the Earl does declare that the whole of the project was bottomed on this ground, that we were able to bring home King James in a parliamentary way, being, as we believed, the majority of the parliament; for though we durst not make any insinuation to the dissenters of bringing home King James, they really abhorring that thought, yet many of them we knew would concurr to force the King to yield to those demands which he had shewed his dislike of, or so to oppose the King's measures, that (though they desired not the parliament dissolved) yet would certainly oblige the King to do it, which would so have served the design that the Earl can with great assurance declare, that not only the country would have been in confusion, but that when the King should have been necessitated to call another parliament, the plurality would have called back King James. That this project might be managed to the best advantage, the Earl and Sir James Montgomery, about the end of
December,

December, went to Scotland, the Lord Rofs having gone two days before; and it was at this time that Sir James did settle a correspondence with Nevil Payne, under the direction of Archibald Moor, Patrick Johnson, and James Hamilton. The Earl declares, that so soon as they arrived at Edinburgh, Sir James and he waited on the Earl of Arran, and told him all they had transacted at London, in sending the message to the late King, which he then approved of, and was willing to do any thing would bring home his old master. Thus matters went on in Scotland, the Jacobites and we joining cordially in the design of obstructing the King's affairs, so as should oblige him to dissolve this parliament. To this end all endeavours were used to oblige those who were for King James to come in, and take the oaths; so that from the number of Jacobites that were to come in on the one hand, and the appearance we made for the liberty of the subject on the other, by which we had many dissenters, and the advantage we received from the frequent adjournments, gave us good hopes of success; but quickly we were disappointed, for when the parliament had sitt some days, we plainly saw that the dissenters had got such a confidence in the Earl of Melvill's sincerity, both for the interest of the King, and liberty of the people, and seeing us openly appear with those they concluded Jacobites, they left us almost in every vote. So that the Jacobites finding there might great inconveniences arise to them from so publick an appearance against the interest of the King and settlement of the nation, they told us plainly, they would leave us, and concur in the money bill, which was the chief thing which from the beginning we all resolved to oppose. Thus the measures of getting the parliament dissolved being broke, we broke among ourselves, and every one looked to his own safety. Whilst these things

were transacting in parliament, Mr. Simpson comes to Edinburgh with the return of his message from King James, and to the best of the Earl's remembrance it was upon the being her Majesty's birth day; he brought with him a great bundle of papers sealed up in a large leather bag with the late King's own seal. It was delivered to Sir James Montgomery, and opened by him in his own chamber, without calling either Ross or the Earl, who were equally concerned in the message; so that Sir James might have taken out what papers he pleased without controul. The Earl, according to the best of his memory, gives in the following list of what papers he saw under the late King's hand.

1. A commission to himself to represent King James in parliament.
2. Instructions to him in a large parchment, and many particular instructions apart.
3. A commission for a council of five, very ample, to the Earls of Arran and Annandale, Lord Ross, Sir James Montgomery; and whether Argyle's name was in for the fifth, or a blank, he does not remember.
4. A commission of council, wherein Duke Hamilton and most of the old privy counsellors were named, with a blank, for the council of five to insert whom they pleased.
5. A commission for the session, wherein Sir William Hamilton and Sir James Ogilvie were named, and several others which the Earl does not remember.
6. A commission of justiciary.
7. A commission to James Stuart to be lord advocate.
8. A general indemnity, six persons only excepted; the Earl of Melville, Lord Leven, Lieutenant-general Douglass, Major-general Mackay, Sir John Dalrymple lord advocate, and the Bishop of Salisbury.

9. A great

9. A great many letters, writ with King James's own hand, to most of the considerable men in Scotland, and above 40 more superscribed by him to be directed and delivered as the council of five should think fitt.
10. A letter to the three that sent the message.
11. A particular letter to Annandale, and a commission to command the castle of Edinburgh; and a patent for a Marquiss.
12. The Earl has heard that Sir James had a particular letter; but he saw a commission to be secretary, and a patent to be an Earl.
13. The Lord Rofs had a commission to be colonel of the horse guards, and an Earl's patent.

The Earl declares that many of these papers are burnt, some yet extant, and that what are in his own custody, he shall deliver to whom her Majesty shall appoint. The Earl of Annandale does further declare, that although he had talked with the Earls of Linlithgow, Balcarras, Breadalbine, Lord Duffus, Lord Preston, Lord Boyne, Sir James Oglebie, and Sir William Scott, about the bringing home King James, and assuring them he was in his interest, yet the particular message from London he only communicated to the Marquis of Athole and the Earl of Arran, and declares that the message having come upon the Thursday, it remained with Sir James Montgomery untill the Saturday morning, that he and the Earl carried all the papers above mentioned to the Earl of Arran's lodging in Holyrood-house, where Arran and Rofs were, and there did consult what papers were proper to shew to the rest of the cabal who were that afternoon to meet at the Earl of Breadalbine's lodgings. It was here resolved, that nothing should be communicated to them but King James's commission to his commissioner, the 32 articles of instructions, and

the particular letters, because we apprehended the rest would have taken umbrage at the extraordinary trust given to us by the commission of the council of 5, and commissions for the greatest trusts and first offices of the kingdom, which some of themselves had in the late King's reign enjoyed. So in the afternoon, according to appointment, we met at the Earl of Breadalbine's lodging, where were present the Marquis of Athole, the Earls of Linlithgow, Annandale, Balcarras, Breadalbine, Lord Ross, Sir James Montgomery, who after having considered the papers, were not satisfied with them, and were ill-pleased that the declaration sent to France was not returned, and all of them did extremely blame us who had sent the message, for thinking it was possible to do King James's business in this parliament, and that in place of these papers, we ought to have writ for ammunition and arms and forces if they could be obtained. So we parted, and the papers continued in Breadalbine's hands, untill the Monday, at which time Sir James Montgomery and the Earl returned to Breadalbine's lodgings, who sent for one Cambell a writer, who had the keeping of the papers; and we being satisfied that they could be of no import for King James's service, and might prove destructive to us if they should come into the hands of the government, we in Breadalbine's bed-chamber burned them.

Lord Nottingham to King William.—Lady Dorchester and Mr. Graham spies to Government.—Weak state of the kingdom.—Presses the King to return.

S I R,

“ I THINK it my duty to acquaint your Majesty with some informations I have lately had from persons that are privy to all matters relating to the interests

terests of the late King, as your Majesty will easily believe, when I tell you they are my Lady Dorchester and Mr. James Grahme: The latter will now take the oaths of fidelity, and gives me this reason for it: That though he has done all he could to serve King James, yet, since there is now no further possibility of doing him any good, but the quarrel is now more immediately between England and France, he will behave himself as becomes a true lover of his country, and a faithful subject of your Majesty's; concluding, that if the French King should succeed in any attempt here, it would be no advantage to his old master, who, by his behaviour in Ireland, must needs have lost all that respect which ever the court of France pretended to shew him. This is what he says; but I guess, that the taking the oaths being necessary to entitle him to your Majesty's general pardon, this is at least one motive to induce him to his present resolution.

He says he will never be an evidence, nor would willingly name any persons; but promises me he will discover every thing that he hears of the French designs; and if any letters should be intercepted, he will explain the meaning of them.

He tells me, that almost all the persons of any quality in Scotland are in a conspiracy against the government; and though all are not for the late King, yet they are contented to join with his friends to overthrow the present constitution; my Lady Dorchester added, that my Lord Marquis of Athol had received 1200*l.* to carry on this design, but did not distribute it as he should have done. She named also my Lord Belcarris, who was to have gone lately into France, but wanted money.

As to the French designs, they, in prospect of the success of their fleet, intended to have invaded England with 40,000 men, part from France, and part from Ireland,

land, where they expected the war would have been prolonged by avoiding a battle; but whether the defeat there will alter their measures as to the time of this invasion, he knows not: For they have ready great numbers of transport ships, and particularly for 2000 horse; and there are some persons gone into France to give an account of your Majesty's great success in Ireland, and of the posture of affairs here. And Mr. Grahme has promised to inform me of the resolutions taken thereupon in France, whether to delay or hasten their attempt upon England: and I beg leave humbly to offer my thoughts to your Majesty, that it will be in a few days or not at all; for though the design was at first laid to be executed towards the end of the campaign, yet it was upon a supposition that their fleet would have wholly destroyed that of your Majesty by surprising them before they were joined, and that the war of Ireland would have lasted much longer; and that their frigates would have destroyed your transport ships: But being disappointed in the two first (and I hope in the last too), and knowing that it is possible for your Majesty's fleet to be at sea in three weeks time, and that your Majesty is at liberty of returning yourself, and bringing a great number of troops, they must conclude they shall not be able to make the attempt of landing here, and much less of succeeding in it, unless they immediately undertake it, while there is nothing by sea, and little by land, to oppose them; and besides these reasons, I have a positive oath of a French fisherman taken lately by the Crown frigate, that great numbers of troops were drawing together to St. Malo's from several parts of France, and it was publicly talked of that they were designed to invade England: And my Lord Marlborough tells me, that Colonel Talmañ writes the Marshal Humieres is drawing a great army to join the Duke of Luxemburgh, but

but more probably to be embarked at Dunkirk, towards which coast some French men of war were seen to be detached after the battle; and my Lord further tells me, that it is discoursed here among the disaffected, that Humeries is coming hither with 18,000 foot and 2000 horse.

How ill a condition we are in to resist them your Majesty can judge; the fleet cannot be expected at sea these three weeks at the least, and, I fear, not near so soon; and though Vice-admiral Killigrew be arrived at Plymouth, yet his ships are so foul, that he can't avoid the enemy if he should attempt to come up the channel; and the difficulty therefore of joining the fleet is almost insuperable: the troops that can be drawn together, will not be above five thousand foot and a thousand horse and dragoons; and the rest of our strength is in the militia, on which your Majesty will not much rely, and the most considerable part of that, which is in London, makes difficulty of marching out of London. Their auxiliaries cannot presently be raised, and expect to be armed as usual, by the crown, and their offers of one thousand dragoons and four hundred horse most certainly cannot be effected in so short a time as is necessary, much less can they be so disciplined as to be usefull; so that, if the French should suddenly land, they might in a few days be masters of London, and from thence of all your ships in harbour, and with the help of their fleet, of the others also that are at the Buoy in the Nore.

I should not have said thus much, had it been my own opinion singly, but I think all the rest of my lords of the committee concur with me in it.

Your Majesty knows the officers you have left here, and how few there are that have any experience; but I am bound to tell you, that I hear there will be some difficulty made of submitting to the chief; I cannot say with
any

any reason; but such an humour only is sufficient to discompose a greater strength than we can make.

And I humbly hope your Majesty will pardon me, that I tell you, there are not wanting disaffected persons, who, although they will not rise in arms against you, yet give occasion of discontents and murmurings, by saying, that England is at the yearly charge of five millions, and has near 80,000 men in pay in the defence of Ireland, Scotland, and Flanders, and is itself naked and destitute of the means of its preservation.

All which makes your Majesty's return so necessary that nothing should delay it, but the impossibility of it with safety to your person; but, however, I presume your Majesty will send a very considerable body of your troops, and think it much better to hazard them than a whole kingdom.

The messenger is returned from Bath, where my lord Anandale was at his arrival there, and through folly or knavery has suffered him to escape."

Whitehall, July 15th, 90.

Part of a letter from the Marquis of Caermarthen to K. William, 12th August 1690.—Suspensions of many in England.

"I SUPPOSE your Majesty is informed by others what scruples some of the admiralty raise upon all occasions, and that as some of them have refused to sign the commission for the present admirals (though contrary to the express orders to have it done), so they now raise numbers of doubts about forming a commission for trial of my lord Torrington, and are designing to bring that matter into parliament, and to be tried there by a faction, if they can encompass their designs in that, as they hope to do in other things.

I know

I know not whether the Queen does give your Majesty any account of my lord Annandale's confession to her this day, concerning the transactions which have been since December last, betwixt the late king and Sir James Montgomery, my Lord Ross, and himself. He says he shall recollect more than he has yet said; but he does acknowledge their having treated with the late king, and received commissions from him; and that one Sir Robert Clark, Captain Williamson, Neale Paine, and one Symphon have been their chief agents and messengers. That Ferguson was privy to it, and others in England whom he does not know. That they did first design to have carried it on in Scotland by a parliament, but finding that to fail, their business was then to interrupt the progress of all affairs in parliament. He says Sir James Montgomery is now in town; notwithstanding his having newly promised the commissioner in Scotland, that he would come directly to the Queen, insomuch that the committee writ but ten days ago to the Queen, that he had promised Sir James he should be safe from any restraint, and besought the Queen that his promise might be kept with him: But it now appears that he hath only cheated the commissioner; thereby to secure himself from being taken, whilst he negotiates with his confederates here, who have made some of themselves appear, by refusing to sign my Lord Ross his commitment.

I fear your Majesty will find a great many such friends amongst us; and I believe you have not found the difficulties so great in the conquest of your adversaries abroad, as you will do how to deal with a people at home, who are as fearful of your being too prosperous as any of your enemies can be; and who have laid as many stratagems in your way as they can to prevent it; and if by your prudent conduct your Majesty can surmount their designs, I shall not doubt of your being as great a king, and we as

happy subjects, as I wish both, and will contribute towards, as far as can be in my small power."

Remark.] The expression in this letter that those who refused to sign Lord Rofs's commitment were his associates, is very singular; considering, that from the Queen's letter to King William, afterwards to be printed, of date July 1st, 1690; it appears that those who refused to sign, were the Duke of Bolton, the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Devonshire, and Lord Montague.

In King William's Cabinet is the following Letter from Lord Torrington to Lord Caermarthen.

Account of the Battle off Beachy Head.

My Lord,

"**I** THIS day received your lordship's, at an unfortunate place and at an unfortunate time; for yesterday morning, according to her Majesty's order received Sunday in the afternoon, we engaged the enemy's fleet with the wind easterly, a fresh gale; we bore down upon them. The Dutch had the van. By that time we had fought two hours it fell calm, which was a great misfortune to us all, but most to the Dutch; who being most disabled, it gave the French an opportunity of destroying all their lame ships, which I hitherto have prevented, by ordering them to anchor, falling with the red squadron, by the help of the tide, between all but one of their lame ships and the enemy: That single ship, for want of anchoring, is, without a mast, fallen into the power of the French: We rid within three miles one of another, till the fleet came, and then weighed. The French rid fast, which has given us the opportunity of getting about five leagues from the
body

APPENDIX TO BOOK V.

body of their fleet. We have the Dutch lame ships in tow, and will endeavour to get them into the river, or Portsmouth: Several of the English ships are very much disabled, and have lost many men, of which I cannot yet give your lordship the particulars: Others have had better fortune, myself for one; for I have not lost many more than twenty men, that I can yet hear of, and eight cannon dismounted by the enemy's shot, and a pretty many severe shot under water. Most of the officers behaved themselves very well; but the Dutch, in point of courage, to admiration. I send your lordship, inclosed, a copy of their defects, as I received it from Admiral Evertzen, as he delivered it me this morning. Many of them, I believe, have lost many men. Captain Noordley, Rear-admiral Jan Dick and Brackell killed. We have lost Captain Botham; and I doubt Captain Pomroy will die; two marine captains in my regiment, and several sea and land lieutenants, and other officers.

We have taken up a French guard marine, that tells me he was shot overboard with the tafferell of the ship he belonged to. He assures me (and if I may believe my eyes he says true) that the French fleet consists of eighty-two men of war, of which the least carries fifty guns, and not above six of them less; they have thirty fireships; that several of their ships have received damage is certain, for they have bore away from us; it is that makes me hope we shall be able to make our retreat good with our lame ships, which is utterly impossible if they press us; pray God send us well off. It has been said they are ill mann'd; but I do assure you the oldest seaman that lives never saw quicker firing: It will be reasonable to take some quick resolution about the Dutch, whether they shall go home to refit, or be refitted in the river. What the consequence of this unfortunate battle may be, God Almighty only knows; but this I dare be positive in; had

I been left to my liberty, I had prevented any attempt upon the land, and secured the western ships, Killegrew and the merchantmen. I have sent the Mary galley to order Shovell and all merchants shippes he meets, to secure themselves in the first port of strength they can fetch. My intentions are, if possible, to retire into the river, and there make what defence I can, if they come so far : Many of our ships want shot for their upper guns, and the Dutch have very little left. Had I undertaken this of my own head, I should not well know what to say ; but its being done by command, will, I hope, free me from blame."

Off of Beachy, July the 1st,
One in the afternoon.

In King William's cabinet are the following letters from Queen Mary to King William in Ireland ; which I print, because they shew the distracted state of England at the time ; and perhaps may enable the reader to form some idea of the character of a princess, who was in one of the most singular situations known in history.

Queen Mary to King William—Her vexation at his leaving her.

Whitehall, June 22, 1690.

"**YOU** will be weary of seeing every day a letter from me, it may be ; yet being apt to flatter myself, I will hope you will be as willing to read as I to write. And indeed it is the only comfort I have in this world, besides that of trust in God. I have nothing to say to you at present that is worth writing, and I think it unreasonable to trouble you with my grief, which I must continue while you are absent, though I trust every post

to hear some good news or other from you ; therefore I shall make this very short, and only tell you I have got a swell'd face, though not quite so bad yet, as it was in Holland five years ago. I believe it came by standing too much at the window, when I took the waters, I cannot enough thank God for your being so well past the dangers of the sea ; I beseech him in his mercy still to preserve you so, and send us once more a happy meeting upon earth. I long to hear again from you how the air of Ireland agrees with you, for I must own I am not without my fears for that, loving you so entirely as I do, and shall till death."

Queen Mary to King William.—Complains of the Queen Dowager.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{July } 1,}{\text{June } 21,}$ 1690.

" I RECEIVED yesterday, with great joy, your dear letter of the 26th, from Belfast, from whence I see you intended, if pleased God, to march last Thursday. I pray God you may still find the Irish air better and better ; I hope he will of his mercy give you all the success we can desire. I must now tell you a thing myself at large, which I suppose you may have heard of last post ; for after I had writ my letter and sent it away, Lord Nott. lord chamberlain, and Lord Marlborough came to me. The lords of the cabinet council had recommended some persons to be reprieved in order to transportation ; and Lord Ch. press'd extremely that M^cGuire might be pardoned. I told him, that having spoke to you about him, the last answer you gave was, that he must be hanged, having deserved it ; but he assured me that you had received other information since, and would certainly pardon him were you here ; so that at last I said I would consent he should be transported with the rest ; which I thought

thought was all I could do upon his importunity after what you had said. In any other case than that of a man's life, you may be sure I would not have been persuaded so far after what you had said, but I thought there was too much cruelty in refusing that for the first time: But Lord Nott. told me, you had taken a resolution never to pardon burglary, and he desired that he might tell every body so, that I might be no more importuned. I shall not trouble you with every thing these lords said to me at this time, but the chief thing was that they had had the parson in examination, upon a report that Lord Feversham had forbid him saying the prayer for your success at Somerset-house: Upon which he went to him, and asked him if it were his order? Lord Feversham told him, Yes: For it may be, said he, if the Q. hears this prayer is used, she may take it for a pretence to forbid any prayers at all in that place, since she is not obliged to have any thing but mass there: But this she connives at; and Lord Feversham and the rest of the Protestant servants contribute to the paying the minister, who they say is an honest man, and does not omit any thing in his parish: But he believing he must obey Lord Feversham, did leave it out some days; upon which many of the Q. D. servants would not go to prayers there, but told it; yet Lord Feversham, upon Wednesday last, ordered the whole office for the fast to be used. This is so unaccountable a way of proceeding, that I think there is as much folly as any thing else in it; but I was extreme angry, which those lords saw, but I shall not trouble you with it. I told them I thought there was no more measures to be kept with the Queen herself after this; that is, if it were her order, as no doubt it is; but first Lord Nott. was to send for Lord Fev. to him; I desired him to speak as angrily as it was possible, which he promised; but Lord Fev. was with him as soon

soon as he got home, having heard the parson had been examined. He was it seems in pain; when Lord Nott, told him all I had said, he seem'd much concerned, and desired to come, throw himself at my feet, and own all the matter as a very great fault in him, but done out of no ill design: To be short, he came yesterday in my bed-chamber, at the hour there was a great deal of company (I mean then just before dinner), he seemed extremely concerned, lookt as pale as death, and spoke in great disorder; he said, he must own it a very great fault, since I took it so: But he begged me to believe 'twas not done out of any ill intention, nor by agreement with any body: He assured me the Queen herself knew nothing of it; he said 'twas a fault, and a folly, an indiscretion, or any thing I would call it: I told him, after doing a thing of that nature, the best way was not to go about excusing it; that 'twas impossible, since to call it by the most gentle name I could give it, 'twas an unpardonable folly, and which I did not expect, after the protestations he had made; upon which he said abundance of words. I doubt whether himself knew what he meant by them, but I am sure I could make nothing of them; till at last he spoke plain enough, that I understood: He said, God pardoned sinners when they repented, so he hoped I would; I told him, God saw the hearts, whether the repentance was sincere, which since I could not do, he must not find it strange if I would trust only to actions, and so I left him: This is all I think to a syllable what I said to him, and as much as I could make sense of that he said to me: But though I pity the poor man for being obliged thus to take the Queen Dowager's faults upon him, yet I could not bring myself to forgive him. This I remember I did say more, that if it had been to myself, I could have pardoned him, but when it immediately concerned your per-

son, I would, nor could not. The Q. D. sent me a compliment yesterday, upon my swelled face (which I do not know if I have writ you word of, but yesterday I had leeches set behind my ears for it, which has done but little good, so that it mends but slowly, and one of my eyes being again sore, I am fain to write this at so many times, that I fear you will make but ill sense of it); and will come to-day to see me, but desired an hour when there was least company; so that I imagine she will speak something of herself; and that which inclines me the more to this opinion is, that she has sent for Lord Halifax, and was shut up in her chamber about business with him, and others, the whole morning: I shall give you an account of this before I seal up my letter: In the mean while I shall tell you, that having had a letter from M. Schulemburgh, about his money, without which, he and M. des Marets both write me word, his credit is lost. I spoke of it this morning, at the cabinet council, and Lord Nott. had also a letter from Mr. Eccart, about the same. Lord Marlborough took great care to shew that honour was engaged, and a great many more consequences of it. I suppose an exact account is given you of all this, so that I need say no more, but that I hope I have done well to press it as much as may be: 'tis resolved to give an answer next Tuesday: Lord Fitzharding having at present no estate in Somersetshire, and not living there, fears he may not be so able to serve you as he ought, therefore, if you please, will be content with the *custos rotulorum*, without the *lieutenancy*: Upon this occasion I shall only name one who desired it; though I told him I was engaged to speak for another, that is the D. of Bolton, who I think will lose nothing for want of asking: But upon my answer, he told me it was not for himself, but his son Winchester, he would have it. The Q. Dow. has been here; but did

not

not stay a moment, nor spake two words; since she went I have been in the garden, and find my face pretty well; but it is now candle-light, therefore I dare say no more. I have still the same complaint to make, that I have not time to cry, which would a little ease my heart; but I hope in God I shall have such news from you as will give me no reason; yet your absence is enough, but since it pleases God, I must have patience; do but continue to love me, and I can bear all things else with ease.

I send you the letter of M. D. Ablancourt, because I don't know who he means, and 'tis so short 'twill take you up no time to read.

Lord Marlborough tells me 'tis almost time to think of the proroguing the parliament; I wish you would give yourself the trouble to write your mind very particularly upon the subject."

Queen Mary to King William—upon the arrival of the French fleet on the coast.

Whitehall, the $\frac{2 \text{ July,}}{22 \text{ June,}}$ 1690, half 11 at night.

"THE news which is come to-night of the French fleet being upon the coast, makes it thought necessary to write to you both ways; and I, that you may see how matters stand in my heart, prepare a letter for each. I think Lord Torrington has made no haste: And I cannot tell whether his being sick, and staying for Lord Pembroke's regiment, will be a sufficient excuse: But I will not take up your time with my reasonings, I shall only tell you, that I am so little afraid, that I begin to fear I have not sense enough to apprehend the danger, for whether it threatens Ireland, or this place, to me 'tis much at one, as to the fear; for as much a coward as you think me, I fear more for your dear person than my

APPENDIX TO BOOK V.

poor carcass. I know who is most necessary in the world. What I fear most at present is not hearing from you. Love me whatever happens, and be assured I am ever intirely yours till death."

Queen Mary to King William—upon the same subject.

Whitehall, the ^{2 July,}_{22 June,} 1690, at half 10 at night.

"**A**S I was ready to go into my bed, Lord Nott. came and brought me a letter, of which he is going to give you an account; for my own part, I shall say nothing to it, but that I trust God will preserve us, you where you are, and poor I here. Methinks Lord Torrington has made no haste; they say he stays for Lord Pembroke's regiment: He also has not been very quick, for he received it at 8 this evening, and kept it till now, that he has sent it open to Lord Nott. I thank God I am not much afraid; I think too little; which makes me fear 'tis want of apprehending the danger. That which troubles me most in all things is your absence and the fear I am in, something may be done to hinder us from hearing from you; in that case I don't know what will become of us. I still trust in God, who is our only help. Farewell, I will trouble you with no more, but only desire you, whatsoever happens, to love me as I shall you to death."

Queen Mary to King William—upon the same subject.

Whitehall, ^{July 4,}_{June 24,} 1690.

"**S**INCE I writ to you about the coming of the French fleet upon the coast, the lords have been very busy; I shall not go about to give you an account of things, but shall tell you some particular passages: One happened to day, at the great council, where I was by
their

their advice, and when they had resolv'd to seize upon suspected persons, in naming them, Sir H. Capel would have said something for Lord Clarendon (whose first wife you know was his sister); every body stared at him, but nobody preparing to answer, which I thought they would not do may be in my regard, I ventured to speak, and tell Sir H. Cap. that I believed every body knew as I did, that there was too much against him to leave him out of the list that was making: I can't tell if I ought to have said this, but when I knew your mind upon it, and had seen his letter, I believed it as necessary he should be clapt up as any, and therefore thought myself obliged to say so; but as I do not know when I ought to speak and when not, I am as silent as can be, and if I have done it now mal a propos, I am sorry, but I could not help it, though at the same time I must own, I am sorryer, than it may be will be believed, for him, finding the Dutch proverb true which you know, but I should spoil in writing. Lord Monmouth and his officers were with me yesterday, with their declaration as they call it, about which I writ to you before. I hope the easterly wind is the only cause I do not hear from you which I am very impatient for now, and when I consider that you may be got a great way if you began to march last Thursday, I am in a million of fears, not knowing when you may be in danger: That alone is enough to make me the greatest pain imaginable, and in comparison of which all things else are not to be named; yet by a letter from Lord Torrington, dated at 3 yesterday in the afternoon, I see he thought this day was like to decide a great deal there. I cannot but be in pain, it may be I do not reason just upon the matter, but I fear besides the disheartening many people, the loss of a battle would be such an encouragement to disaffected ones, that might put things here in disorder, which in your absence

would be a terrible thing, but I thank God I trust in him, and that is really the only consolation I have. I was last night at Highpark for the first time since you went: It swarmed with those who are now ordered to be clapt up. Yesterday Lord Fev. came to Lord Nott. to tell him he had put Q. D. off of the Hamburg voyage; but she would go to the Bath; after which he came again, and said that seeing it might now be inconvenient to have guards there, she desired to go to Islington, but Lord Marl. desired the answer might not be given a day or two till we have heard something of the success of the fleet. Since I have writ this, I was called out to Lord Nott. who brought me your dear letter of the 3rdth, which is so welcome that I cannot express it, especially because you pity me, which I like and desire from you, and you only. As for the building, I fear there will be many obstacles; for I spoke to Sir J. Lowther this very day, and hear so much use for money, and find so little, that I cannot tell whether that of Hampton court will not be a little the worse for it, especially since the French are in the Channel, and at present between Portland and us, from whence the stone must come; but in a day or two, I hope to give you a more certain account, this being only my own conjecture. God be praised that you are so well, I hope in his mercy he will continue it. I have been obliged to write this evening to M. Schulemberg to desire him to advance money for the 6 regiments to march, which they say is absolutely necessary for your service as well as honour. The lords of the treasury have made me pawn my word for it, and that to-morrow 20,000 pounds will be paid him. It is now candle light, and I dare say no more but that I am ever and entirely yours."

Queen Mary to King William.—Fears about Lord Torrington.—Complaints of being neglected by the ministers.

Whitehall, ^{July 6,}
_{June 20,} 1690.

“BY this exprefs I fhall write freely and tell you what great fufpicions encrease continually of Major Wildman. Lord Nottingham I believe will by the fame write to Sir R. Southwell, that upon any extraordinary thing which might be neceffary to be kept a fecret, he fhould fend him an exprefs directed immediately to him. It would be too long to tell you all the reafons of fufpicion, but this one inftance I will give, that fince your going from hence there is not one word come from Scotland, neither from Lord Melvin, nor Colonel Mackay, to Lord Marlborough, which methinks feems unaccountable, though it is this day 3 weeks fince Lord Nottingham writ preffingly for a speedy anfwer: Yet Lord Monmouth has letters, and gives intelligence which does not always prove true. I told Lord Nottingham that I thought the only way was to fend an exprefs, that he write to Lord Melvin, and Lord Marlborough to Mackay, and let them know they have not once heard from them. Upon this Lord Prefident and Lord Nottingham defired I would alfo fign letters to the governors of Berwick and Carlifle, not to let any perfons go by who had not a pafs, that they fhould ftop the mails, and fend word how many were come from thence in this time. This I have done, and the exprefs is to be immediately fent away. I ever fear not doing well, and truft to what nobody fays but you, therefore hope it will have your approbation. It is a ftrange thing, that laft night Sir R. Holmes writ to Lord Nott. and Mr. Blaithwait both, that the fleets were briskly engaged, which he could fee from the hills, which letter was writ at 6 yefter-day

day morning, since which we have not a word from him; but another to Sir H. Goodricke from Portsmouth, dated at 3 in the afternoon, assures then there had been no engagement, but some shooting between the scouts. What to think of this nobody knows, but it seems to me every one is afraid of themselves, for Sir R. H. desires mightily some succours, or else the Isle of Wight is lost. Lord Bath is very backward in going down, but with much ado he sends his son, who only says he stays for a letter of mine, which is signed this morning, to empower him to command at Plymouth in his father's absence, which he tells me you promised before you went, and it is upon your leave Lord Bath pretends to stay here till the term is over; but I told him I supposed you had not foreseen the French being so near. D. of Bolton also tells me last night, you had given him leave to raise some horse volunteers for which he should have had a commission, but that you went away, therefore he would have me give it; but I put it off, and Lord Marlborough advises me not to give it. Lord President some time since told me the same thing, but I will not give any positive answer till you send me your directions. I must also give you an account of what Lord Nott. told me yesterday; he said Lord Stuard was very angry at Lord Torrington's deferring the fight, and proposed somebody should be joined in commission with him. But that the other lords said could not be done, so Lord Monmouth offered to take one whose name I have forgot; he is newly made I think commissioner of the navy, and as Lord Nottingham tells me, you had thoughts of having him command the fleet if Lord Torrington had not: This man Lord Monmouth proposed to take and go together on board Lord Torrington's ship as volunteers, but with a commission about them to command in case he should be killed. I told Lord Nott. I was not willing to grant any
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commission of that nature, not knowing whether you had ever had any thoughts of that kind, so that I thought he was only to be thank't for his offer; I added that I could not think it proper, that he being one of the 9 you had named should be sent away, upon which he laughed and said, that was the greatest compliment I could make him, to say I could not use his arms, having need of his counsell. I suppose they are not very good friends, but I said it really as I meant, and besides to hinder propositions of this kind for Mr. Russell; for I see Lord Carmarthen has upon several occasions to me alone, mentioned the sending Mr. Russell, and I believe it was only to be rid of him; for my part, after what you told me of all the 9, I should be very sorry to have him from hence. Lord M. indeed I think might as well be spared, but I do not think it was your intention any of those 9 should be out of the way; I desire you would say something to this that I may know your mind in case of necessity; and indeed it would be well it was known also in Lord Torrington's regard, for he may dy as well as another man: And now I have named Mr. Russel, I must tell you that at your first going, he did not come to me, nor I believe to this hour, would not have asked to have spoke with me, had not I told Lady Russel one day, I desired it. When he came I told him freely that I desired to see him sometimes, for being a stranger to business I was afraid of being too much led or persuaded by one party. He said he was very glad to find me of that mind, and assured me since I gave him that liberty, he would come when he saw occasion, though he would not be troublesome. I hope I did not do amiss in this, and indeed I saw at that time nobody but Lord President, and was afraid of myself. Lord Carmarthen is upon all occasions afraid of giving me too much trouble, and thinks by little and little to do all; every one see how little I know of business, and therefore I believe, will be
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apt to do as much as they can. Lord Marlborough advised me to resolve to be present as often as was possible, out of what intention I cannot judge, but I find they meet often at the secretary's office, and do not take much pains to give me an account. This I thought fitt to tell you, pray be so kind to answer me as particular as you can. Queen D. has been to take her leave, in order to going to Hammersmith, where she will stay till she can go for Windsor. I have tired you with this long letter, and it is now stayed for ; I shall say no more, but beg you to believe it is impossible to love more than I do, dont love me lesse."

Queen Mary to King William, on Lord Torrington's declining to fight.—Lord Monmouth offers to go to the fleet.—Suspicious of him.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{July 8,}}{\text{June 28,}}$ 1690, at 8 o'clock
in the morning.

"SEEING I cannot always write when I will, I must do it when I can, and that upon some things which happened yesterday ; as for Lord Torrington's letter you will have an account of that and the answer from Lord Nott. I shall tell you as far as I could judge what the others did. Lord Carmarthen was with me when Lord Nott. brought the letter ; he was mighty hot upon sending Mr. Russel down to the fleet ; I confess I saw, as I thought, the ill consequence of that, having heard you say they were not good friends, and believing Lord Torrington being in the post he is in, and of his humour, ought not to be provoked ; besides, I do believe Lord President was willing to be rid of Mr. R. and I had no mind to that ; so I said what I could against it, and found most of the lords of my mind when they met, but Lord Monmouth was not with them. Mr. Russel drew up a pretty sharp letter for us to sign ; but it was softened, and
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the only dispute was, whether he should have a positive order to fight : At last it was wrote in such terms as you will see, to which all agreed, but Lord Steward, who said it was his duty to tell his thoughts upon a subject of this consequence, which was, that he believed it very dangerous to trust Lord Torrington with the fate of three kingdoms (this was his expression), and that he was absolutely of opinion, that some other should be joined in commission with him ; to which Mr. Russell answered, you must send for him prisoner then ; and all the rest concluded it would breed too much disturbance in the sight of the enemy, and would be of dangerous consequence. So the letter was signed, and Lord Nott. writ another letter, in which he told him our other accounts we have received of the fleets from the Isle of Wight. I was no sooner a bed but Lord Nott. came to me from the lords, who were most of them still at his office, and where Lord Monmouth was come very late, but time enough to know all. He offered his service immediately to go down post to Portsmouth, so the admiralty would give him the commission of a captain, and fit out the best ship there, which he believes he can do with more speed than another, with which he will join Lord Torrington ; and being in a great passion, swears he will never come back more if they do not fight ; upon his earnest desire, and the approbation of the lords that were present, Lord Nott. came up to ask my consent. I askt who was there, and finding four besides Lord Monmouth and Lord Nott. of which I remember but three ; which were Lord President, Lord Steward, and Sir John Lowther, the fourth was either Lord Pemb. or Lord Marl. I thought in myself they were two thirds of the committee, so would carry it if it were put to the vote ; therefore, seeing they were as earnest as he for it, I thought I might consent ; besides, I own to

you I had a thought immediately upon it, which I would not own, tho' I find some of them have the same, that the lemon letters, which I suppose you have heard of, which come so constantly and are so very exact, the last of which told even the debates of the committee as well as if one of the lords themselves had writ them; this I think looks somewhat odd, and I believe makes many forward for this expedition; and for my own part, I believe he may be the best spared of the company; tho' I think it a little irregularity, yet I hope you will excuse it, and nobody else can find fault.

10. at night. Since my writing this, there has come a great deal of news. As I was going to the cabinet council in the morning, Sir Wm. Lockhart came with a letter from the committee there: When we rose, Lord Steward told me, that he had been speaking to Mr. Se-seuk upon the affairs of the times, who had made great complaint of his usage, and said so much, that he fancies he may turn informer; I doubted, but advised him to continue his discourse, as though by chance, while I should write you word to know how far you would have him engage, which I have now done, and desire your answer. Lord Monmouth was there, after having been in the city, where he has found one Major Born, I think his name is, who has the commission of captain, and not himself, he desiring his intentions may be kept as secret as may be, lest he should come too late; in the mean while, his regiment's being at Portsmouth is the pretence. He made great professions at parting, and desired me to believe there are some great designs. We had another lemon letter, with things so particular, that none but some of the lords could know them, especially things that were done at the office late last night; upon which all sides are of the same mind. Before I went out of the room, I received your dear letter from Lough-bricklin, but

but I cannot express what I then felt, and still feel, at the thoughts that now it may be you are ready to give battle, or have done it. My heart is ready to burst. I can say nothing, but pray to God for you. This has waked me who was almost asleep, and almost puts me out of any possibility of saying any more, yet I must strive with my heart to tell you, that this afternoon the ill news of the battle of Fleury came; I had a letter from the Prince of Waldec, with a copy of the account he sent you, so that I can say nothing, but that God, in whose hands all events only are, knows best why he has ordered it so, and to him we must submit. This evening there has been a person with me, from whom you heard at Chester (probably Earl of Broadalbin), and whom you there ordered to come to me, as he says; he believes you will know him by this, and will by no means be named, and, what is worse, will name nobody, so that I fear there is not much good to be done, yet I won't give over so. I must end my letter, for my eyes are at present in somewhat a worse condition than before I received your letter: My impatience for another from you is as great as my love, which will not end but with my life, which is very uneasy to me at present, but I trust in God, who ~~shall~~ can preserve you and comfort me."

Queen Mary to King William—upon the defeat at Beachy-head.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{12}{2}$, 1690, 7 in the morning.

"I AM sorry there is not as pleasing news to send you from hence, as what I had last from you; I would not write last night by the post, being assured the messenger this morning should overtake him, before they came to Hylake. Here has been great things done, but that so unanimously, that I hope when you have an exact account

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from Lord Nott. you will approve of it. I must confess I think they were in the right, but if I had not, I should have submitted my judgment where I saw all of a mind. What Lord Torrington can say for himself I know not, but I believe he will never be forgiven here; the letters from the fleet, before and since the engagement, shew sufficiently he was the only man there had no mind to fight, and his not doing it was attributed to orders from hence: Those which have been sent and obeyed have had but very ill success, the news of which is come this morning. I will not stop the messenger with staying for my letter, and 'tis unnecessary for me to say much, only as to the part of sending Mr. Russell away. I believe it was a great irregularity, and, for my own part, I was sorry to miss him here, after what you had told me, and the fear I am in of being imposed upon, but all were for it, and I could say nothing against it: I confess I was as sorry Lord Monmouth came so soon back, for all agree in the same opinion of him. Mr. Russell was overtaken before he came to Canterbury, so the nine are again together. As for the ill success at sea, I am more concerned for the honour of the nation than any thing else; but I think it has pleased God to punish them justly, for they really talkt as if it were impossible they should be beaten, which looks too much like trusting in the arm of flesh: I pray God we may no more deserve the punishment; that same God who has done so much, can still do what is best, and I trust he will do more than we deserve. This afternoon I am to go to the great council, to take order about the prorogation of the parliament, according to your orders. I long to hear again from you, which is my only comfort. I fear this news may give courage to those who retired before; but God can disappoint them all, and I hope will take care of his own cause: He of his
mercy

mercy send us a happy meeting again, that will be happiness to me beyond all others, loving you more than my life."

Remark.] The nine, often mentioned in these letters were the Lords Pembroke, Devonshire, Marlborough, Godolphin, Caermarthen, Nottingham, Monmouth, Admiral Ruffel, and Sir John Lowther.

Queen Mary to King William on the same occasion. Disputes in council who should go down to the fleet.—Suspensions of Lord Monmouth.

Whitehall, July 1st, 1690.

"IF you knew in what fear I am that my letter I writ yesterday morning did not overtake the post, you would pity me; for though it is but one day's difference, yet I would not for any thing seem to have mis'd an opportunity of writing to you; and indeed as sleepy as I was a Tuesday night, I would have writ had not Lord Nott. assured me the message should follow the next morning early, and so he was certain it would come time enough; but when the letter came in from Lord Torrington, and what was to be done being thought necessary to acquaint you with, he stopt the messenger without telling me. This I trouble you with for my own justification, and I hope if the post should have got long before the messenger, you will forgive me; I shall never be so careless more; for I own it was that too much, and the care of my eyes shall never more hinder me, as you will see by this that I write at a time when it does them no good. As for what has been done this morning you will have a particular account; I shall only acquaint you with my part in it. When the lords had unanimously agreed to send two of their number, and would have me choose them, I desired help, and that they would name; upon

upon which Lord President offered his service. Lord Monmouth said he believed he might be excused, upon his relation to Lord Torrington, especially since they were not to command the fleet: Mr. Russel said he had served long under him, and it would seem something indecent in him to be forward in offering his service in this particular, though there was nothing which could be thought fit but he would do, yet he supposed others might as well. The rest offered except Lord Nott. and Lord Marl. who said afterwards they thought it would be ridiculous in them to do it. Upon this I ventur'd to give my own judgment, for the first time, and chose Lord Devonshire and Lord Pemb. I thought I could not fail in this, for there was not much choice, and these seemed the most proper to me upon what I had heard them say, and the manner they said it. I told Lord President, when I named them, that he could not be spared, but I saw he looked ill satisfied; so that when the council was up I spoke to him, and bid him remember how necessary he was; he said he did not look on himself as so tied, but he might go away upon occasions. I told him if he were not by place, yet being the person you had told me whose advice I should follow and rely the most on, I could not spare him. There is another thing I must acquaint you with by the bye that I believe will anger him, which is that neither Mr. Hambden nor Mr. Pelham will sign the docket for Lady Plymouth's eight thousand pounds: He complained to me; I promised to ask them about it, which I have done, and both of them asunder have told me the sum was too great to be spared at present, when money is so much wanted, and indeed I think they are in the right. I hope you will let me know your mind upon it; but they say Sir Stephen Fox owns to have signed it by surprize, and is of their mind: The only thing I could say to this was, that you had signed

signed the warrant before you went, which I thought was enough; but they say they had not time to represent it to you, and would only take time to do so: But to return to this morning. I spoke also to Lord Monmouth, who I saw was dissatisfied; and I told him I knew it was not fit for him to go to sea, who was a seaman, without having the command; and that, he heard, was by all agreed for the present, Sir John Ashby should have, for an encouragement to the rest to behave well, as he had done in this occasion: He told me he thought he had reason to expect it, because you once had thoughts of sending him to command, but he was content with any thing as he said; as for that I never heard you say it, and if you knew what I shall tell you, if ever I live to see you, you will wonder. I make many compliments to Lord Steward, and some fewer to Lord Pembroke. By advice I writ a letter to Admiral Evertzen; I forgot to tell you I did so by Mr. Russell, and then not knowing he spoke English, with much ado I writ it in Dutch, so as I believe he could have understood me, but 'tis come back to be burnt. Lord Shrewsbury was at my dinner; I told him I was glad to see him so well again; he said he had been at Epsom for the air, or else he would have been here sooner; he stayed not long but went away with Mr. Wharton, who I have not seen once at council, and but seldom any where. Lord Shrewsbury was again here at my supper, and as I thought took pains to talk, which I did to him as formerly by your directions. Though by my letter it may be you would not think me so much in pain as I am, yet I must tell you 'I am very much so, but not for what Lord Monmouth would have me; he daily tells me of the great dangers we are in, and now has a mind to be sent to Holland (of which you will hear either this or the next post). I see every one is inclined to it for a reason I have mentioned

tioned before; but to let that pass I must tell you again how he endeavours to fright me, and indeed things have but a melancholy prospect; but I am fully persuaded God will do some great thing or other, and it may be, when human means fail, he will shew his power; this makes me, that I cannot be so much afraid as it may be I have reason for; but that which makes me in pain is for fear what is done may not please you. I am sure it is my chief desire, but you know I must do what others think fit; and I think they all desire as much as may be to act according to your mind. I long to hear from you, and know in what we have failed; for my own part, if I do in any thing what you don't like, 'tis my misfortune and not my fault; for I love you more than my life, and desire only to please you."

Queen Mary to King William—her fondness for him.

Whitehall, July the 1st, 1690.

"THIS is only to tell you I have received yours of the 28th, Old Stile, which puts me in many troubles that I shall not trouble you with at present; to-morrow night an express shall go to you that cannot possibly be dispatch'd to-night, and I am not sorry; for at this time I dare say but little by candle-light, and 'tis to-morrow the first Sunday of the month. I have really hardly had time to say my prayers, and was feign to run away to Kensington, where I had three hours of quiet, which was more than I have had together since I saw you. That place made me think how happy I was there when I had your dear company; but now—I will say no more, for I shall hurt my own eyes, which I want more now than ever. Adieu; think of me, and love me as much as I shall you, who I love more than my life. I should have sent this last post; but not seeing

Madame

Madame Nienhuys, hindered me then, and makes me send it you now, which I hope you excuse."

Queen Mary to King William on his being wounded.—Disputes about the command of the fleet.

Whitehall, July $\frac{16}{8}$, 1690.

"I CAN never give God thanks enough as long as I live for your preservation; I hope in his mercy that this is a sign he preserves you to finish the work he has begun by you; but I hope it may be a warning to you, to let you see you are exposed to as many accidents as others; and though it has pleased God to keep you once in so visible a manner, yet you must forgive me if I tell you that I should think it a tempting God to venture again without a great necessity: I know what I say of this kind will be attributed to fear; I own I have a great deal for your dear person, yet I hope I am not unreasonable upon the subject, for I do trust in God, and he is pleased every day to confirm me more and more in the confidence I have in him; yet my fears are not less, since I cannot tell, if it should be his will to suffer you to come to harm for our sins, and when that might happen: For though God is able, yet many times he punishes the sins of a nation as it seems good in his sight. Your writing me word how soon you hoped to send me good news, shews me how soon you thought there might be some action, and that thought put me in perpetual pain. This morning when I heard the express was come, before Lord Nott. came up, I was taken with a trembling for fear, which has hardly left me yet, and I really dont know what I do. Your letter came just before I went to chapell; and though the first thing Lord Notting. told me was, that you were very well, yet the thoughts that you expose yourself thus to danger,

fright me out of my wits, and make me not able to keep my trouble to myself: But for God's sake let me beg you to take more care for the time to come; consider what depends upon your safety; there are so many more important things than myself, that I think I am not worthy naming among them. But it may be the worst will be over before this time, so that I will say no more. I did not answer your letter by the post last night, because the express could not be dispatched; and I believe more hindrances are come, for Lord Steward and Lord Pembroke write word they will be here to-night; but I can say very little upon the subject at present, for really I had my head and heart so full of you, I could mind nothing else.

It is now past 10 o'clock; I don't tell you for an excuse, for I am not sleepy; my impatience is too great to hear from you again, that I am not master of it, nor indeed of myself; so that you must excuse me from saying more than is just necessary. Lord Nott. will give you an account of all that has been done. Lord Carmarthen will write to you about a thing he has put in my head, and since I thought of it, I only fear that, and nothing else: I desired he would write it himself, believing what he said would have more weight with you than if it came from me, for you would believe I spoke most out of self-interest. I wish to God he could prevail. The Lords are come back from the fleet, of that I leave also Lord Nott. to write; but I have undertook to say another thing to you, which is about who shall command it, for I find every body is so animated against Lord Torrington that 'tis not to be imagined; whether you will think fitt to confine him after his behaviour, I dont know, but all the Lords believe you will not. Lord Monmouth tells me himself that he has reason to expect the command of it, upon which I told him that I should

should not undertake to pitch upon any body; it was a thing would allow us time enough to know your pleasure, and I thought it of too great consequence to be resolved of by any here, but that I should write to you to know your will. After this I believed that if it was mentioned in the committee, it might anger him too much if any else should be named; therefore I forbid it, and told Lord Nott. he should write to you in general, and I would name those who should be named to me. I have not had time nor opportunity to speak myself to Mr. Russell about it; but I am told he declines it; now whether that may be only modesty, I cannot tell. The others which they name, are Sir Richard Haddick and Sir John Ashby; the first of these says he wishes it might be put in commission of three persons, whereof two might be seamen, and the 3d some person of quality. Somebody named Lord Pembroke for the figure he might make, and Sir R. Haddick and Sir J. Ashby to be joined with him; others would have the Duke of Grafton put instead of Lord Pembroke, that he might be encouraged for his behaviour, which they say was very brave in this last business, and also learn, believing he will give his whole mind to it, and so in time be good for something: Others are for having Mr. Russell put with the two before-mentioned; but it may be he would not like it. They tell me Shovell is the best officer of his age, but he is behind these other two; and so is Killigrew, who it is much wondered is not come yet, which some think a fault to be punished, believing he has staid for merchant ships. These are all the names I remember, and when I have told them you I think I might as well have let it alone; it was only that they thought it better I should put you in mind of any body else; you will please to resolve what shall be done

as soon as possible; I hope you will forgive me if I forget half what I have to say, for really my concern for you has got the mastery, and I am not able to think of any thing else, but that I love you in more abundance than my own life."

*Queen Mary to King William, on the battle of the Boyne.—
Singular picture of the Queen's mind.—Lord Monmouth's
intrigues.*

Whitehall, July 17, 1690.

"**H**OW to begin this letter I don't know, or how ever to render God thanks enough for his mercys; indeed they are too great, if we look on our deserts; but, as you say, 'tis his own cause: And since 'tis for the glory of his great name, we have no reason to fear but he will perfect what he has begun: For myself in particular, my heart is so full of joy and acknowledgment to that great God, who has preserved you, and given you such a victory, that I am unable to explain it. I beseech him to give me grace to be ever sensible, as I ought, and that I and all may live suitable to such a mercy as this is. I am sorry the fleet has done no better, but 'tis God's providence, and we must not murmur, but wait with patience to see the event. I was yesterday out of my senses with trouble, I am now almost so with joy, so that I can't really as yet tell what I have to say to you, by this bearer, who is impatient to return. I hope in God, by the afternoon, to be in a condition of sense enough to say much more, but for the present I am not. When I writ the foregoing part of this, it was in the morning, soon after I had received yours, and now 'tis 4 in the afternoon; but I am not yet come to myself, and fear I shall lose this opportunity of writing all my mind, for I am still in such

a confusion of thoughts, that I scarce know what to say, but I hope in God you will now readily consent to what Lord President wrote last night, for methinks there is nothing more for you to do. I will hasten Kensington as much as it's possible, and I will also get ready for you here, for I will hope you may come before that is done. I must put you in mind of one thing, believing it now the season, which is, that you would take care of the church in Ireland. Every body agrees that it is the worst in Christendom: There are now bishopricks vacant, and other things, I beg you would take time to consider who you will fill them with. You will forgive me that I trouble you with this now, but I hope you will take care of those things which are of so great consequence as to religion, which I am sure will be more your care every day, now that it has pleased God still to bless you with success. I think I have told you before, how impatient I am to hear how you approve what has been done here; I have but little part in it myself, but I long to hear how others have pleased you. I am very uneasy in one thing, which is want of somebody to speake my mind freely to, for its a great constraint to think and be silent, and there is so much matter that I am one of Solomon's fools, who am ready to burst. I believe Lord President and Lord Nott. agree very well, tho' I believe the first pretends to govern all; and I see the other is always ready to yield to him, and seems to me to have a great deal of deference for him; whether they always agreed or not I can't tell, Lord Marleborough is much with them, and loses no opportunity of coming upon all occasions with the others, As yet I have not found them differ, or at least so little, that I was surprized to find it so, I mean the whole nine; for it has never come to putt any thing to the vote, but I attribute that to the great danger, I believe all have apprehended, which has made them of a mind. The three
I named

from Lord Nott. you will approve of it. I must confess I think they were in the right, but if I had not, I should have submitted my judgment where I saw all of a mind. What Lord Torrington can say for himself I know not, but I believe he will never be forgiven here; the letters from the fleet, before and since the engagement, shew sufficiently he was the only man there had no mind to fight, and his not doing it was attributed to orders from hence: Those which have been sent and obeyed have had but very ill success, the news of which is come this morning. I will not stop the messenger with staying for my letter, and 'tis unnecessary for me to say much, only as to the part of sending Mr. Russell away. I believe it was a great irregularity, and, for my own part, I was sorry to miss him here, after what you had told me, and the fear I am in of being imposed upon, but all were for it, and I could say nothing against it: I confess I was as sorry Lord Monmouth came so soon back, for all agree in the same opinion of him. Mr. Russell was overtaken before he came to Canterbury, so the nine are again together. As for the ill success at sea, I am more concerned for the honour of the nation than any thing else; but I think it has pleased God to punish them justly, for they really talkt as if it were impossible they should be beaten, which looks too much like trusting in the arm of flesh: I pray God we may no more deserve the punishment; that same God who has done so much, can still do what is best, and I trust he will do more than we deserve. This afternoon I am to go to the great council, to take order about the prorogation of the parliament, according to your orders. I long to hear again from you, which is my only comfort. I fear this news may give courage to those who retired before; but God can disappoint them all, and I hope will take care of his own cause: He of his
mercy

mercy send us a happy meeting again, that will be happiness to me beyond all others, loving you more than my life."

Remark.] The nine, often mentioned in these letters were the Lords Pembroke, Devonshire, Marlborough, Godolphin, Caermarthen, Nottingham, Monmouth, Admiral Ruffel, and Sir John Lowther.

Queen Mary to King William on the same occasion. Disputes in council who should go down to the fleet.—Suspensions of Lord Monmouth.

Whitehall, July '3, 1690.

"**I** F you knew in what fear I am that my letter I writ yesterday morning did not overtake the post, you would pity me; for though it is but one day's difference, yet I would not for any thing seem to have miss'd an opportunity of writing to you; and indeed as sleepy as I was a Tuesday night, I would have writ had not Lord Nott. assured me the message should follow the next morning early, and so he was certain it would come time enough; but when the letter came in from Lord Torrington, and what was to be done being thought necessary to acquaint you with, he stopt the messenger without telling me. This I trouble you with for my own justification, and I hope if the post should have got long before the messenger, you will forgive me; I shall never be so careless more; for I own it was that too much, and the care of my eyes shall never more hinder me, as you will see by this that I write at a time when it does them no good. As for what has been done this morning you will have a particular account; I shall only acquaint you with my part in it. When the lords had unanimously agreed to send two of their number, and would have me choose them, I desired help, and that they would name;
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Queen Mary to King William on the same occasion. Disputes in council who should go down to the fleet.—Suspicions of Lord Monmouth.

Whitehall, July $\frac{1}{2}$, 1690.

"**I** F you knew in what fear I am that my letter I writ yesterday morning did not overtake the post, you would pity me; for though it is but one day's difference, yet I would not for any thing seem to have miss'd an opportunity of writing to you; and indeed as sleepy as I was a Tuesday night, I would have writ had not Lord Nott. assured me the message should follow the next morning early, and so he was certain it would come time enough; but when the letter came in from Lord Torrington, and what was to be done being thought necessary to acquaint you with, he stopt the messenger without telling me. This I trouble you with for my own justification, and I hope if the post should have got long before the messenger, you will forgive me; I shall never be so careless more; for I own it was that too much, and the care of my eyes shall never more hinder me, as you will see by this that I write at a time when it does them no good. As for what has been done this morning you will have a particular account; I shall only acquaint you with my part in it. When the lords had unanimously agreed to send two of their number, and would have me choose them, I desired help, and that they would name;
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Queen Mary to King William on the same occasion. Disputes in council who should go down to the fleet.—Suspicions of Lord Monmouth.

Whitehall, July $\frac{1}{2}$, 1690.

"**I** F you knew in what fear I am that my letter I writ yesterday morning did not overtake the post, you would pity me; for though it is but one day's difference, yet I would not for any thing seem to have miss'd an opportunity of writing to you; and indeed as sleepy as I was a Tuesday night, I would have writ had not Lord Nott. assured me the message should follow the next morning early, and so he was certain it would come time enough; but when the letter came in from Lord Torrington, and what was to be done being thought necessary to acquaint you with, he stopt the messenger without telling me. This I trouble you with for my own justification, and I hope if the post should have got long before the messenger, you will forgive me; I shall never be so careless more; for I own it was that too much, and the care of my eyes shall never more hinder me, as you will see by this that I write at a time when it does them no good. As for what has been done this morning you will have a particular account; I shall only acquaint you with my part in it. When the lords had unanimously agreed to send two of their number, and would have me choose them, I desired help, and that they would name;
upon

and the only one of not accepting it. But I told him plainly that I did not doubt but you would approve of trusting any such thing in Lord Shrewsbury's hands, yet I did not know if all else might be employed. I confess I did not like Lord Montague, so he said indeed there were persons he believed you would mistrust, and named him. I said I could not tell particular persons, for I did not know them myself. He said they did not desire to have this known, and therefore he did not know if I would take notice of it to them; but he believed I would do well to do so to Lord Shrewsbury. I was of his mind, and resolve when I have an opportunity for it to do so. I hope you will not disapprove of this, being my own act; I am most concerned; I need say nothing to you of the particulars of what was done this morning. Lord Nott. will tell you all, only I must say that I hope there is no harm done in stopping 25 of the 70,000*l.* which was going to you, since it is so very necessary here; and I hope to have it made up before it can be wanted there. I was extreme loath to consent, but I must submit to others judgment; and in this I believe I was in the right to do so, though my inclination to do just what you would have me, is ever stronger. I have no more at present, and believe this letter is not so long as it is, though I have shortened it all I can, by saying as little as I possibly could upon each subject. You don't know how I please myself with the thoughts of seeing you here very soon, but I must tell you that it is impossible to be yet awhile at Kensington. Your closets here are also not in order, but there is no smoke in summer, and the air is much better than in another season. Pray let me have your orders, if not by yourself, then tell Lord Portland, and let him write. I see I can hardly end, but I must force myself without saying a word more but that I am ever yours, more than ever, if that be possible, and shall be so till death."

*Queen Mary to King William.—Her concern for religion.—
Offered 200,000*l.* if she would dissolve Parliament.*

Whitehall, July the $\frac{2}{11}$, 1690.

“ I HAVE been desired to beg you not to be too quick in parting with confiscated estates, but consider whether you will not keep some for public schools, to instruct the poor Irish ; for my part, I must needs say that I think you would do very well if you would consider what care can be taken of the poor souls there ; and indeed, if you give me leave, I must tell you, I think the wonderfull deliverance and success you have had should oblige you to think upon doing what you can, for the advancement of true religion, and promoting the Gospel.

I had yesterday an offer made me of two hundred thousand pounds, to be lent upon a note under my hand, that it should be paid as soon as the parliament gave money, but it was only on this condition, that the parliament should be dissolved ; I told Lord Monmouth, who made me the proposition, that was a thing I could not promise, it being of that consequence, that though all the lords of the great council should unanimously agree to, yet I would not venture upon it without knowing your pleasure ; therefore, unless they would lend some money (which is really most extreamly wanted) upon other terms, I must go without it ; for I would not by any means engage for what I could not perform : We had besides this, much discourse, all which would be too long to trouble you with, only that he began to speak of Lord Shrewsbury (who by the way is gone to Tunbridge) ; he said he saw he was concerned as well as his friends at what he had done, and he believed would be very glad to serve you again ; that he himself had observed you were unwilling to part with Lord Shrewsbury ; and now desired to know if there

there was no way of restoring him. I askt if he had any to propose, but he said he had no commission to speak this: He said many extraordinary things in this discourse, which I reserve to tell you. I never write but what I think, others do not; so I shall do now, and must tell you I had writ to Admiral Evertzen (by advice, as you may believe) to come up; he has been with me this very night, and though he will say nothing positive, nor blame Lord Torrington, yet he says so much, that as unequal as the fleets were, had the English fought like the Dutch, they should at least have so shattered many of their ships, that they must have left the sea for their own safety."

Queen Mary to King William.—His and her opinion of discords in Council.

Whitehall, July 27, 1690.

"**E**VERY hour makes me more impatient to hear from you, and every thing I hear stir, I think brings me a letter. I shall not go about to excuse myself; I know 'tis a folly to a great degree, to be so uneasy as I am at present, when I have no reason to apprehend any ill cause, but only might attribute your silence to your marching farther from Dublin, which makes the way longer. I have stay'd till I am almost asleep in hopes; but they are vaine, and I must once more go to bed, and wish to be waked with a letter from you, which I shall at last get, I hope. Till I know whether you come or no, I can not resolve to write you all that has past this day, till which time I thought you had given me wrong characters of men, but now I see they answer my expectation of being as little of a mind as of a body. Adieu, do but love me, and I can bear any thing."

Queen Mary to King William.—The Council split about the command of the fleet.

Whitehall, $\frac{1 \text{ Aug.}}{22 \text{ July,}}$ 1690.

“**L**AST night I receiv’d your letter from Wels with so much joy, that it was seen in my face by those who knew the secret of it that you were coming. I will not take up more of your time with endeavouring to tell you what is impossible to be express’d; but you know how much I love you, and therefore will not doubt of my delight to think I shall soon see you. I will not this time tell you any thing that can be writ you by others, but I must let you know that when I spoke to Mr. Russel, he answered me at first almost the same thing as this morning, till which time he took to consider. He assured me there was nothing he would not do to serve you; but he does not think himself proper for to command the fleet in such a time as this. He says your meaning of saying Sir R. Haddock should be under him, can be no other than in commission, wherein himself should be the first; no other way Sir R. H. can possibly go. He tells me, not only the eye and expectation of all England, but all Europe, especially Holland, is upon this choice: that he does not think there is a man in England capable at this time to do it alone; that his opinion is, it ought to be in a commission of no less than three. I told him that was your intention if he would not go with Sir R. H. He excused himself from all, as believing it might be for your service; and told me he thought it should be put in the hands of two seamen and a man of quality: The man of quality he thought should be Lord Pembroke, if he desired it; but himself rather wished for Lord Shrewsbury, of whom Lord Marl. writ you word some time since; he begg’d of all things it might not be the Duke of Grafton, saying

saying he knew only enough to make him ungovernable, and is of so rough a temper, it could never suit with the seamen at all : There was another he feared yet more, which is Lord Monmouth, and indeed I believe nobody would speak for him : Some thought Lord Steward would offer himself, and that was to be fear'd. Upon the whole I consulted Lord President, but had first desired Lord Nottingham to talk with Lord Pemb. and hear whether he would desire it. Lord President told me Lord Monmouth had asked his advice, who as a friend had counsel'd him not to ask it alone, not judging any one man fit for it : T'other pretended to thank him, but in a passion begg'd not to be named as one who would go in commission ; so that was over. While we were talking, came Lord Nott. who told me Lord Pemb. would not ask it or desire it, nor would not be willing to go. 'Tis too tedious to tell you their discourse (which was only as from Lord Nott. himself) ; but Lord Pembroke disapproved having a man of quality to go, saying it was only to send him to be knock'd of the head, without the hopes of having any credit of what was well done. Upon which Lord President offered to go himself : I put that off with compliments, and said, I thought the best would be to name the two seamen, which could be no other but Sir R. Hadock and Sir J. Ashby, being now the first in the fleet, and leave the third person to your naming, who certainly will be here before it can go out, which I said was a reason to be given the committee, who knew of your coming. The rest of the world should only know the third was not yet named, and need not be informed if it should be a man of quality or a seaman. This I said I thought would serve the end for which it was thought pressing as to time, since these two could as well order all things necessary as if the third were with them. This Lord President approved, and thought it best to tell the committee at once, that they might only speak

speak their minds upon the two ; and I desired it might be
 so, to prevent Lord Steward's offering himself : and in-
 deed though I did not tell them nothing of Lord Shrews-
 bury, yet I had told Mr. R. and Lord Marl. who approved
 it upon that account, because they hoped when you came
 you would name Lord Sh. which they thought would find
 opposition now from Lord President and Lord Nott. I
 confess remembering what I have heard you say ; and
 your wishing so earnestly he had not been out, makes me
 apt to think you will employ him ; and Mr. Russel assur-
 ing me it would be of so general a satisfaction, makes me
 wish it. This was done this afternoon in the committee,
 all generally approving the two men, and that the third
 should stay your coming, only Lord Monmouth, who
 was silent and uneasy. Lord Nott. and Mr. Russel had
 severally wished to me alone that Killigrew might be one,
 but durst not propose it, because of what happened yester-
 day in the great council, as you will hear. I thought this
 business had been over, but was surpris'd at my return
 from Kensington to find Lord Pemb. with the whole ad-
 miralty, except Mr. Russel and Captain Pristman ; they
 told me, they came to let me know the inconveniency
 they believed it would be to put this business in commis-
 sion, and therefore to desire that Mr. Russel might have
 the sole command. Sir T. Lee was very earnest in it,
 and indeed almost the only speaker, though for form sake
 Lord Pemb. began ; Lord Carbury spoke once and no
 more. I told them it was according to your directions
 in a letter to me myself, seeing Mr. Russel had excus'd
 himself, and that I did not know what more could be
 done ; writing to you again, after you had writ your mind
 so plainly, was loss of time, which I thought might be
 prejudicial to your affairs at present ; but they would not
 be satisfied. I desired time to consider ; 'twas late when
 they went from me. Lord President was gone home ; so

I sent to Lord Nottingham to have the committee appointed to-morrow morning extraordinary upon this, and have sent to Mr. Russel to come to me first. Lord Nott. and Lord Marl. who was here, told me it was Sir T. Lee's hatred to Hadock. I think it will be to no purpose to refer the thing by letter to you : You will be here yourself before an answer, and I don't know if this long letter will come to you ; at least I hope 'twill meet you upon the way. After this long letter I must tell you, that 'tis impossible for Kensington to be ready for your first coming, though I will do my best you shall not stay long for it. When you are come, I will make my apology for the matter when I see you. I shall now only tell you I am in great pain till I know if I have done well in this business or no. I am almost fast asleep, for 'tis very late. Pardon all my faults, and believe I will commit none willingly ; and that I love you more than my life."

Queen Mary to King William.—Heats about the command of the fleet.—The Admiralty disobey her.

Whitehall, ^{Aug. 3,}
July 24, 1690.

" **T**HOUGH I hope in God you will come quickly, and that I flatter myself you may be come away yesterday or this day, yet I cannot rest without sending this express, in case any accident might happen, or some retardment, as many are apt to believe by Lord Portland's letters, which may make you longer a coming ; so that it is fit you should know what happened yesterday. I writ you word how those of the ad. had been with me the night before to recommend Mr. Russel, and the answer I gave them, as also that I had spoken to Lord Nott. to call the lords together next morning, which was yesterday ; they came accordingly, but I first spoke to Mr. Russel, who

who was still of the same mind, and assured me he could not go any way, even though he had those with him who could help him with their advice. He said the blame must still fall upon him, if any thing happened, though merely accidental, yet he said the minds of all men were so exasperated now, that it would be his ruin; you may believe I could not press him after that, nor indeed at all, as the comm. of the ad. would have it, since in both your letters, by which you may be sure I should only go, you said Mr. Russel and Sir R. Hadock under him: So Mr. Russel and I parted, he very well satisfied as I thought with the two before named, I still in hopes you would chuse Lord Shrewsbury for the man of quality, though he owned he did not so much care for Sir R. Hadock. When the committee met, I desired Lord Pembroke to tell them what the ad. had said to me the night before, that I might have the advice of the lords, which he did; and I saw none that thought there could be any change made, Mr. Russell having repeated all his reasons again to excuse himself. Lord Mon. was the only person who was silent; so the comm. of the ad. were sent for; when they came, Lord President told them what the resolution was. Sir T. Lee grew as pale as death, and told me, that the custom was that they used to recommend, and they were to answer for the persons, since they were to give them the commission, and did not know but they might be called to account in parliament. I shall not repeat all that was said: Lord President argued with them; at last Sir T. Lee came to say plainly, Hadock was the man they did not like. Lord Pem. spoke for him, so did Sir J. Lowther. Mr. Russel was gone out. Pristman spoke against it, so did Lord Carbury, and Sir R. Ansloe; at last Sir T. Lee said, it could not be, I might give them a commission if I pleased, but they could not; and when I saw

he talkt long, and insisted upon their privilege, I said, that I perceived then the King had given away his own power, and could not make an admiral which the admiralty did not like; he answered, No, no more he can't. I was ready to say that then the King should give the commission to such as would not dispute with him, but I did not, though I must confess I was heartily angry; it may be I am in the wrong, but as yet I cannot think so. Lord President after more discourse desired them to retire. When they were gone, I saw all generally agreed I was to persist, especially since the man they found fault with was he you had named now, and as I was assured by all, was the person you had resolved upon, when Lord Torrington would not go; and every one approved of Sir J. Ashby, and concluded nothing but Killigrew could hinder him, and his absence was the main thing that made him not be thought of by most, though some were against him, upon the account of suspicions they have, which don't seem to be well grounded. Upon this it was resolved, the commissioners should be called again, and told positively they might prepare the commission, and so we parted; but Sir T. Lee, Lord Carbury, and Sir R. Anslow sent to me to excuse their not signing: I asked Lord President what answer was to be sent, for he brought me the message; I told him I was much surprized; he was very angry, and talkt at a great rate; but I stopped him and told him I was angry enough, and desired he would not be too much so, for I did not believe it a proper time; he said, the best answer he could give from me was, that they would do well to consider of it. I desired he would add that I could not change my mind, if it were proper to say so much; he said it was rather too little: What passed at the great council you will hear; but as to this, I saw Mr. Russel this morning, and found him very
much

much out of humour; excused Sir T. Lee, and would not believe he had said such a thing as I told you. I said indeed that had angered me very much, but he endeavoured to talk it over, and said Sir R. Hadock was not acceptable to them, because they believed Lord Nott. had recommended him, and they did not like that: I saw he shifted off the signing the commission, by saying there was not a compleat board this morning: He began again to find difficulties of precedence between Hadock and Ashby, and indeed I never saw him out of humour before: There was company by, so I had no fair opportunity of saying more to him; he only pressed the naming Lord Shrewsbury for a third, as the best means to allay all these things. But as I had not time nor convenience to say more to him then, I was fain to leave off the discourse at a place I would have said more upon, which I had the opportunity of doing this afternoon to Lord Marl. who came to me about the same thing. I told him I was resolved to send away this express in hopes of a speedy and positive answer, and I told him why I should be unwilling to name Shrewsbury myself. I thought it would not be proper for me by any means to name a person who had quitted just upon your going away; though I was persuaded you would trust him, and had a good opinion of him, yet for me to take upon me alone (for we concluded none would be for it but these two who are only trusted with the secret; I mean Lord Marl. and Mr. Russell, and Lord Cham.) for me I say now so to name him without being assured from yourself of your approbation, I thought not proper; therefore I desire you will be very positive in your answer; for I begin to fear Lord President may be in the right, that you cannot possibly be here so soon even as yourself thought; and if not, pray send an answer to this third person, and likewise to the behaviour of the commissioners

missioners of the ad. I pray God send you here quickly, for besides the desire I have to see you for my own sake (which is not now to be named), I see all breaking out into flames. Lord Stewart was with me this afternoon from Sir T. Lee to excuse himself to me. He said the reason was, because he saw this was a business done between two or three, a concerted thing, and that made him he could not consent. I told him he himself could have assured Sir T. Lee it was your own orders in your letter to me, at which he shook his head; I asked if he or Sir T. Lee did not believe me; he said Sir T. Lee thought he was, that is Sir R. Hadock, was imposed upon the K. I said I did not believe that was so easy; I mean, said Lord Devonf. recommended by persons who they don't much like. Indeed, my lord, said I, if they only dislike Sir R. Hadock, because he is recommended by such as they don't approve, it will confirm me in the belief he is a fit man, since they can make no other objection against him: I confess, said I, my lord, I was very angry at what Sir T. Lee said yesterday; but this is to make me more so, since I see 'tis not reason, but passion, makes Sir T. Lee speak thus: Upon which we fell into discourse of the divisions, which both lamented, and I think we both were angry, though not at one another. He complained that people were too much believed that ought not to be so, and we could not agree. I should never have done, should I say all I hear upon such matters, but what I have said I think absolutely necessary for you to know: If I have been too angry I am sorry for it: I don't believe I am easily provoked, but I think I had reason now, and if I may say so, I do not think people should be humoured to his degree. Mr. Russel again desired the D. of Grafton should not be in; and Lord Nott. who was one of those who mentioned him before, desired me to let you know he is concerned

cerned at it, having since been informed how unfit he is. One thing more I must desire to know positively, which is about Kensington, whether you will go there, though my chamber is not ready."

Queen Mary to King William.—The divisions continue about the command of the fleet.—Expects he is to be in London in a day or two.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{Aug. 9,}}{\text{July 30,}}$ 1690.

"**Y**OU will not wonder that I did not write last night, when you know that at noon I received yours, by Mr. Butler, whose face I shall love to see ever hereafter, since he has come twice with such good news. That he brought yesterday was so welcome to me, that I won't go about expressing it, since 'tis impossible: But for my misfortune, I have now another reason to be glad of your coming, and a very strong one, if compared to any thing but the kindness I have for your dear self, and that is the divisions which, to my thinking, encrease here daily, or at least appear more and more to me. The business of the commission is again put off by Mr. Russell; for the day before yesterday the com. of the ad. were again called upon; and, for any thing I see, can give no good account for their slowness: They were again desired to hasten all they could, and Sir J. Lowther saying it was necessary Ashby should have help, gave occasion to ask why the commission was not signed, for which they could give but ill reasons; the lords all agreed they should be again ordered to do it, and that immediately, which they went away for. Mr. Russell was not here, but when he came to the adm. board, he desired it might be put off till an answer of a letter he writ to Killigrew could come. Yesterday morning Lord President told me of this, before I went to the cabinet council, and I saw then was very much out of humour,

humour, which I shall reserve till I see you. Mr. Russell himself spoke to me of it, and said he believed I would not find it reasonable to venture at this time the losing such a man as Killigrew, and so gave it a very handsome turn, tho' I think he has no mind to Hadock. I told him I was not so unreasonable as to find fault with deferring this matter upon that account; but that I could not bear with Sir T. Lee's way. He went to excuse him; I said that I must own to him, that were I in your place, I would not have borne his answer; but when he had in such a manner refused to sign the commission, I should have put it into such hands as would have done it. Mr. Russell said, he hoped I would not think of doing it now: I told him no; he might be sure in your absence I would not think of any thing of the nature, especially not without your orders for it; and when I told Mr. Russell the reasons Sir T. Lee had sent me, which were, that he had nothing so much against the man as against those who recommended him, he said indeed that was an ill argument: When the cabinet council did meet, this business was left thus, at Mr. Russell's desire; but he himself and all agreed, that Lord Nott. should send for Sir R. Hadock, and tell him he was to go, that he might prepare for it; but still there is some difficulty about the precedence between Sir J. Ashby and him; for I hear that last night Mr. Killigrew's answer came, who had rather be in his own station than one of the three. Thus the matter is, and thus you will find it, for since you are so near coming, I think it will not be proper to do any thing that is not absolutely necessary, and when you do come, you will then be the best judge of the whole matter. I have one thing to beg, which is, that if it be possible, I may come and meet you upon the road, either where you dine, or any where else, for I do so long

to see you, that I am sure had you as much mind to see your poor wife again, you would propose it; but do as you please: I will say no more, but that I love you so much it cannot encrease, else I am sure it would."

Queen Mary to King William.—Disappointed upon his delaying to return.

Whitehall, Aug. 1st, 1690.

"UNLESS I could express the joy I had at the thoughts of your coming, it will be in vain to undertake telling you of the disappointment 'tis to me that you do not come so soon. I begin to be in great pain lest you had been in the storm a Thursday night, which I am told was great (though its being a t'other side of the house hinder'd my hearing it), but was soon delivered by your letter of the 29th from Ch. I confess I deserve such a stop to my joy, since may be it was too great, and I not thankful enough to God, and we all here apt to be too vain upon so quick a success. But I have mortification enough to think your dear person may be again exposed at the passage of the Shannon, as it was at that of the Boyne: This is what goes to my heart; but yet I see the reasons for it so good, that I will not murmur, for certainly your glory would be the greater to terminate the war this summer, and the people here much better pleased, than if they must furnish next year for the same thing again. Upon these considerations I ought to be satisfied, and I will endeavour as much as may be to submit to the will of God and your judgment; but you must forgive a poor wife, who loves you so dearly, if I can't do it with dry eyes; yet since it has pleased God so wonderfully to preserve you all your life, and so miraculously now, I need not doubt but he will still preserve you; yet let me beg you not to expose yourself unnecessarily, that will be too much tempting that providence which I hope will still watch over you.

Mr. Russel is gone down to the fleet last Thursday to hasten as much as may be all things there, and will be back a Monday; when there is a great council appointed. I don't doubt but this commission will find many obstacles; and this naming Killigrew among such as don't like him will be called in question, as well as the other two; and I shall hear again that 'tis a thing agreed among two or three."

Queen Mary to King William.—Joy that he has approved of her conduct with regard to the admiralty.—People discontented whatever he does.

Whitehall, Aug. the 1st, 1690.

"LAST night I received yours of the 3d July, and with great satisfaction that it was so plain; your approving my anger is a great ease to me, and I hope may make things go on the better if it be possible; though there are great pains taken to hinder the persons named either from serving at all, or from agreeing, but I hope to little purpose. They now begin to engage Mr. Citters in the business, and tell him stories which will be worth your hearing when you come back; and Sir R. Hadock is now said to rail at the Dutch, of which he has, I think, cleared himself. Positive orders were given Lord Pembroke this morning to have the commission immediately signed, but Sir T. Lee is again at other ways to oppose it: Yet Mr. Russel being come back this night from the fleet, to-morrow morning they will have a full board, and so no excuse. Lord Torrington has writ to the officers that they should make an address in his favour, and takes great pains by letters among them; but this is a secret: As for his trial, the only thing can be done is the admiralty's giving a commission for it, which they have already orders for; but that, as all things else with them, goes very slowly;

slowly; and many disputes and niceties themselves find about it: For my part, I must confess I should think if he were now acquitted, it would be worse both in regard of Holland and the business here, than if the preparations are made, and the going out of the fleet hinder it being put in execution for a while. I should not write you this thought of mine, if I did not find several of my mind, which makes me apt to believe I am not quite in the wrong; but that you know better; and you may believe I shall do as much as lies in my power to follow your directions in that and all things whatever, and am never so easy as when I have them. Judge then what a joy it was to me to have your approbation of my behaviour, and the kind way you express it in, is the only comfort I can possibly have in your absence: What other people say I ever suspect, but when you tell me I have done well, I could be almost vain upon it: I am sure I have all the reason in the world to praise God, who has sustained me in things so difficult to flesh and blood, and has given me more courage than I could have hoped for: I am sure 'tis so great a mercy that I can never forget it: We have received many: God send us grace to value them as we ought; but nothing touches people's hearts here enough to make them agree; that would be too much happiness. Lord Nott. will give you an account of all things, and of some letters which by great luck are fallen into our hands. I must needs tell you upon the subject, that when it was first known you intended to come back, 'twas then said, What, leave Ireland unconquered, the work unfinished! now upon your not coming, 'tis wondered whose council this is, and why leave us thus to ourselves in our danger? Thus people are never satisfied; but I must not begin upon the subject which would take up volumes; and, as much as I was prepared, surprizes me to a degree that is beyond expression. I have so many several things to say

to you if I live to see you, that I fear you will never have patience to hear half: But you will not wonder if am surprized at things which though you are used to, are quite new to me. I am very impatient to hear again if you are over the Shannon; that passage frights me. You must excuse me telling my fears; I love you too much to hide them, and that makes all dangers seem greater it may be than they are. I pray God in his mercy keep you, and send us a happy meeting here on earth, first before we meet in heaven.

If I could take more pains to preserve your kindness, that which you write would make me do it; but that has been ever so much my desire, that I can't do more for you, nor love you better."

Queen Mary to King William.—Scotch affairs.—Difficulties in England.—Complains of whig party.

Whitehall, Aug. 17, 1690.

"I BEGIN to grow extreme impatient to hear from you again, and till I do shall have little rest; for the passage of the river runs perpetually in my head. God grant I may hear good news. As for what passes here, the commission is at last past, but only four have signed it; which was Lord Pembroke, Mr. Russel, Sir J. Lowther, and Captain Pristman, which it seems makes a board: These have always been ready to do it, and the other three continue obstinate. The commission for the trial of Lord Torrington was also press'd extremely, and ordered yesterday in council that the commission of the admiralty should make one of such officers now in service, though they were not in the fight. I was desired yesterday to let you know that though Mr. Castairs be gone to Ireland to press you that the parliament in Scotland might

fit, yet that the inconvenience would be so great to have the forfeitures now look'd into at this time, that you are begged to consider of it. I must not name the person; he desired me not by letter, but when I see you you will know all. I have likewise been desired to tell you an imperfect story of the ill condition of the treasury. I desired it might be sent you exactly from thence, which they promise to do. I find people make so many new difficulties every day in every thing, that 'tis a melancholy business to think of it. God only can cure such matters, and I trust he will, though we don't deserve it. I will not trouble you with a longer letter at present; God give you quick success, and a speedy return, are my constant prayers with due submission. I am unreasonable upon this subject, loving you too well to be at any ease till I hear again from you.

As I had finished this, Lord Nott. and Lord Marl. comes to tell me of a project they have, which I think Lord Marl. is to write to you; for which reason an express is sent. And that gives me the liberty of telling you 'tis Sir Wm. Lockhart who begs you to consider the matter concerning Scotland. He says he must ever speak what he thinks most for your service, and has spoke with Lord President about it, who is to write to you of it; but Sir Wm. hopes he shall never be known in the matter, because of Lord Melvill. Mr. Hampden is the person who tells such sad stories of the treasury, which I fear will prove but too true. We have had to-day a great dispute about the parliament, whether you should not call a new one or no. They would have me do it, but that I think improper for me. I think I writ you word of this before, that Lord Monmouth pressed me much in it, and offered, as I am confident you have heard from me, a loan of 200,000 *l.* upon that condition, and 'tis certain that party have done all they could to hinder any money
at

at all coming in; and Lord President is of opinion they will leave nothing untryed, but he thinks it will not have the effect they seem to desire, but that the same persons will go near to be chose again. I find I am like to hear a great deal of this matter; but I have your absence to answer it with; I wish I had not that any longer, but that you were here to do it for yourself. This is meer self interest, longing of all things in the world to see you here again."

Queen Mary to King William.—Her anxiety about his passing the Shannon.

Whitehall, Aug. 1st, 1690.

"I HAVE had no letter from you since that of the 31st, from Chapelford; what I suffer by it you cannot imagine. I don't say this by way of complaint, for I do believe you write as often as 'tis convenient or necessary, but yet I can't help being extreamly desirous of hearing again from you. This passage of the river runs much in my mind, and gives me no quiet night nor day; I have a million of fears, which are caused by that which you can't be angry at, and if I were less sensible I should hate myself, though I wish I were not so fear full, and yet one can hardly go without t'other; but 'tis not reasonable I should torment you with any of this. Lord Stuard desires me to let you know he has had a letter from M. et Mad. de Grammon, about her brother Mr. Hamilton; they desire earnestly he may be exchanged for Lord Montjoy. I told Lord Devonf. that I knew nothing of this Mr. Ham. faults (which I see he is very apprehensive the parliament will take into consideration, if he be not out of their power), but that upon his earnest desire I would let you know it. I would have had him write it you himself, but he begs me to do it. As for Lord Montjoy, I hope you will

will consider if any thing can be done for him. I can never forget that I promised his son's wife to speak to you, and she really died of grief, which makes me pity her case; his family is in a miserable way, and I am daily solicited from his eldest daughter about him: If you would let Lord Portland give me some answer to this, I should be very glad, for I can't wonder at people's desiring to know some answer, though I am tormented myself. The business of the commission for Lord Torrington's tryal sticks still at the admiralty, who are appointed Monday morning to meet the civilians at council. I have staid till I am ready to go to bed, and now can put off sealing my letter no longer. I pray God give me patience and submission; I want the first exceedingly, but I hope all is well, especially your dear self, who I love much better than life."

Queen Mary to King William.—Whigs want a new parliament.

Whitehall, Aug. 22, 1690.

"**YOU** cannot imagine the miserable condition I was in last night; I think had not your letter come as it did, I should have fallen sick with fear for your person; but all that trouble made your news of the French having left Limmerick the more welcome, I will not say your letter, for those are ever so. I am sure this news affords new reason of praising God, since I hope it will prevent any more fighting. You speak of your coming back now in a way which makes me hope not only that it will be quickly, but that you come willingly, and that is a double joy to me, for before I confess, I was afraid to have seen you dissatisfied when you were here, and that would have been very unpleasant; but now I hope in God to see you soon, and see you as well pleased as this place will suffer you to be, for I fancy you will find people really worse
and

and worse. Lord Stuard was with me this afternoon, with whom I had a long conversation, which will be worth your knowing when you come; but he has made me promise to write you word now some part of it, which is, that he begs you to consider if you will not have a new parliament, for this one he is sure will do no good; this he says is his opinion. I see it is a thing they are mightily set upon. Lord President methinks has very good arguments to try this first, but of all this you will judge best when you come. I can't imagine how it comes to pass that you have not received my letter of the 26th of July; I am sure I writ, and that you will have had it by this time, or else there must be some carelessness in it which must be lookt after. I have had this evening Lord Anandale who is to tell all, and then I am to procure a pardon from you, but I think I shall not be so easily deceived by him, as I fear Lord Melvill has been by Sir James Montgomery; but these are things to talk of when you come back, which I pray God may be very soon. 'Tis the greatest joy in the world to hear you are so well. I pray God continue it. I hope this will meet you upon your way back, so it goes by an express that it may not miss you. I can't express my impatience to see you; there is nothing greater but that which it proceeds from, which will not end but with my life."

Queen Mary to King William.—Disputes begin in council about naval promotions.

Whitehall, Aug. the 23, 1690.

"THE commissioners of the admiralty have resolved to come to me to-morrow, with some names for flags: Mr. Russell recommends Churchill and Ellmor, because he says nothing has been done for them, tho' they both were trusted when you came over, and have been
ever

ever very true to your interest; but I think, if it be possible, to let them alone till you come, though Mr. Russell seems to think it cannot be delayed; I shall hear (if it must be so) what the other commissioners think, and do as well as I can."

Queen Mary to King William.—Lord Annandale's confession.

Whitehall, Aug. 26.

"THIS time I write with a better heart than the last, because it goes by an express, which must find you out, which it may be the common post may not so well do; there was then nothing to write: This time I have a paper to send you, which Lord Nott. is to copy, which is what Lord Annandale has made Sir Wm. Lockhart write, because he was not willing it should be seen under his own hand. I think I writ you word, or shou'd have done, that he sent by his wife to Sir Wm. he wou'd surrender himself, if he might be sure not to be made an evidence of; upon which Sir Wm. drew up conditions, that he shou'd tell all; and then he should be made no evidence, and has my word to get your pardon. I think I writ you this before, but to be short, he is come in, and I have spoke twice with him; the second time was last night; when he gave me that paper, and seems to be in earnest: He told me, that after the time the papers were burnt, wherewith this ends, Sir J. Montgomery proposed sending a second message by the same Simon, but he rejected it as much as he durst, but was afraid to tell him plainly he wou'd not: so having a mind to get out of this, he pretended business at his own house in the country; but his coldness made Sir J. Montgomery the warmer in it, and assure him he would spend his life and fortune in that interest: Thus they parted, and he knew no more till Lord Breadalbane came to see Lord

Annandale, in his way to Chester, where he went to meet you; he told him Sir James had certainly sent another message, but that he was not engaged in it, and believed nobody was besides, but Lord Arran, tho' he cou'd not be positive if Lord Ross were not likewise in: This he told me last night, and desires to be askit more questions, not knowing but that he might yet remember more than at present he can think of: Thus he seems to deal sincerely; but to say the truth, I think one does not know what to believe, but this I am certain off, that Lord Ross did not keep his word with me, much less has Sir J. Montgomery with Lord Melvill, for he has been in town ever since this day was sevenight, and I have heard nothing of him, which is a plaine breach of the conditions. I hope in God I shall soon hear from you, 'tis a long while since I have; but I am not so uneasie as I was last time, yet enough to wish extremely for a letter. D'lone is to send Lord Portland, by this post, a copy of a letter from Mr. Priestman, in which you will see what need you have of that divine protection which has hitherto so watched over you, and which only can make me easy for your dear sake. The same God who has hitherto so preserved you, will, I hope, continue, and grant us a happy meeting here, and a blessed one hereafter. Farewell; 'tis too late for me to say any more, but that I am ever and intirely yours, and shall be so till death."

Queen Mary to King William.—Contrast between the sentiments of the Dutch and English with regard to them.

Whitehall, Aug. the 1st, 1690.

"**L**AST night, when it was just a week since I had heard from you, I received yours of the 1st, after I was a-bed; I was extreamly glad to find by it you had past the Shanon, but cannot be without fears, since the enemys

enemys have still an army together, which, tho' it has once more run away from you, may yet grow desperate, for ought I know, and fight at last: These are things I can't help fearing, and as long as I have these fears, you may believe I can't be easy; yet I must look over them, if it be possible, and force myself to talk, or presently every body thinks all lost. This is no small part of my penance; but all must be endured as long as it pleases God, and I have still abundant cause to praise him who has given you this new advantage. I pray God continue to bless you, and make us all as thankfull as we ought; but I must own the thoughts of your staying longer is very uneasy to me. God give me patience, I hope you will be so kind to write oftener; while you are away, it is really the only comfort this world affords, and if you knew what a joy it is to receive so kind a one as your last, you wou'd by that, better than any thing else, be able to judge of mine for you, and the belief that what you say upon that subject is true, is able to make me bear any thing. When I writ last I was extream sleepy, and so full of my Scotch business, that I really forgot Mr. Harbord; he wrote to Sir R. Southwell, as he told me, but he has a great deal to say: He pleased me extremely to hear how much people love me there; when I think of that, and see what folk do here, it grieves me too much, for Holland has really spoiled me in being so kind to me; that they are so to you 'tis no wonder, I wish to God it was the same here; but I ask your pardon for this, if I once begin upon this subject, I can never have done to put it out of my head. Lord Marl. is also very earnest with me to write to you what has been done to-day, and the commissioners of the admiralty have been here in a body, at the tabinet council, to name 4 persons, out of which they desired me to chuse two flags. Lord Marl. desired me to name 'em to you in

order, which is Churchill, Elmore, Wheeler, and Mitchell; he says Lord President may write to you about one Carter, and 'tis like enough he will, for he tells me he is much an older officer, and will quit if these come over his head, and says all goes by partiality and faction, as indeed I think it's but too plain in other things; how it is in this you will be best able to judge. I writ you word before what Mr. Russel said of the two first; you will do in it as you please, for I told the commissioners myself, that I hoped you wou'd be here so soon, that I did not see why this matter shou'd not stay for your coming, and so I resolve to leave it, if it's possible, but cou'd not refuse my Lord Marl. nor indeed myself, the writing you the matter as it is, tho' he expects I should write in his favour, which tho' I would not promise, yet I did make him a sort of compliment, after my fashion, I need not repeat either how much I love you, nor how impatient I am to see you, you are kind enough to be perswaded of both, and I shall make it my endeavour, while I live, never to give you cause to change your opinion of me, no more than I shall my kindness for you, which is much above imagination."

Queen Mary to King William—upon his raising the siege of Limerick.—Great heats about naval promotions.—Opposition to Lord Marlborough's expedition to King'sale."

Whitehall, ^{Sept. 1,}
^{Aug. 22,} 1690.

"THIS day at noon I received yours, which came by the way of Dublin, and am sorry to see the messenger's news confirmed; but it has pleased God to bless you with such a continued success all this while, that it is, may be, necessary to have some little cross. I hope in God this will not prove a great one to the main business, tho' 'tis a terrible thought to me, that your coming is put off

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off again for so long time; I think it so, I'm sure, and have great reason every manner of way. I will say nothing of what my poore heart suffers, but must tell you, that I am now in great pain about the naming the flags. Mr. Russel came to me last night, and said it would now be absolutely necessary; when I insisted upon staying till I heard from you, he desired to know if I had any particular reason; I told him plainly, that since I could not pretend to know myself who were the fittest, it troubled me to see all were not of a mind; that I was told by several persons, that there were ancient officers in the fleet, who had now behaved themselves very well this last time, and would certainly quit if these were preferred; so that he could not blame me if I desired, in this difficulty, to stay for your answer, to whom I had wrote: To this he answered in more passion than ever I saw him, that Carter and Davis, which he knew Lord President and Lord Nott. would speak for, were two pitiful fellows, and very mean seamen; that next summer he would not command the fleet if they should have flags. After a long dispute about this matter, I have put him off till the last moment comes, when they are to sail; he says, then he must speak of it to the comm. and hear who will speak against it, by which I may judge. I see Lord Marl. heart is very much set upon this matter, and Mr. Russell, as you may see by what I write, on t'other side. Lord President says, if Churchill have a flag, he will be called the flag by favour, as his brother is called the general of favour: He says absolutely this Carter will quit, and commends him highly; but I must tell you another thing, which is, that he is mightily dissatisfied with the business of Kinsale. I see he does not oppose it, for he says 'tis your order, and therefore must be obeyed; but I find he raises many difficulties to me; what he does to others I can't tell, but among other things, he endeavours to
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fright me by the danger there is of being so exposed, when the fleet and 5000 men are gone, which he reckons all the force; tells how easy it will be then for the French to come only with transport ships, and do what they will, but with all this, is very desirous to forward all things. You will have an account from Lord Nott. what has been done this day and yesterday. I know you will pity me, and I hope will believe that if your letter had been less kind, I don't know what would become of me; 'tis that only makes me bear all that now so torments me, and I give God thanks every day for your kindness; 'tis such a satisfaction to me to find you are satisfied with me, that I cannot express it; and I do so flatter myself with the hopes of being once more happy with you, that that thought alone, in this world, makes me bear all with patience. I pray God preserve you from the dangers I hear you expose yourself daily to, which puts me in continual pain. A battle, I fancy, is soon over; but the perpetual shooting you are now in, is an intolerable thing to think on; for God's sake take care of yourself; you owe it to your own and this country, and to all in general. I must not name myself where church and state are equally concerned, yet I must needs say, you owe a little care for my sake, who, I am sure, loves you more than you can do me; and the little care you take of your dear person I take to be a sign of it: but I must still love you more than life."

*Queen Mary to King William.—State of her own mind.
Opposition to Lord Marlborough's expedition to King'sale.—
Her dislike of Lady Marlborough.*

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{Sept. 5,}}{\text{Aug. 26,}}$ 1690.

"MY poor heart is ready to break every time I think in what perpetual danger you are; I am in greater fears than can be imagined by any who loves less than
than

than myself. I count the hours and the moments, and have only reason enough left to think, as long as I have no letters all is well. I believe, by what you write, that you got your cannon Friday at farthest, and then Saturday I suppose you began to make use of them; judge then what cruel thoughts they are to me to think what you may be exposed to all this while. I never do any thing without thinking now, it may be, you are in the greatest dangers, and yet I must see company upon my sett days: I must play twice a week; nay, I must laugh and talk, tho' never so much against my will: I believe I dissemble very ill to those who know me, at least 'tis a great constraint to myself, yet I must endure it: All my motions are so watch'd, and all I do so observed, that if I eat less, or speak less, or look more grave, all is lost in the opinion of the world; so that I have this misery added to that of your absence and my fears for your dear person, that I must grin when my heart is ready to break, and talk when my heart is so oppress'd I can scarce breathe. In this I don't know what I should do, were it not for the grace of God which supports me: I am sure I have great reason to praise the Lord while I live for this great mercy, that I don't sink under this affliction; nay, that I keep my health; for I can neither sleep nor eat. I go to Kensington as often as I can for air, but then I can never be quite alone; neither can I complain, that would be some ease; but I have nobody whose humour and circumstances agrees with mine enough to speak my mind freely to: Besides, I must hear of business, which being a thing I am so new in, and so unfit for, does but break my brains the more, and not ease my heart. I see I have insensibly made my letter too long upon my own self, but I am confident you love enough to bear with it for once: I don't remember that I have been guilty of the like fault before,
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since you went; and that is now three months, for which time of almost perpetual fear and trouble, this is but a short account, and so I hope may pass: 'Tis some ease to me to write my pain, and 'tis a great satisfaction to believe you will pity me, it will be yet more when I hear it from yourself in a letter, as I am sure you must if it were but out of common good nature; how much more then out of kindness, if you love me as well as you make me believe, and as I endeavour to deserve a little by that sincere and lasting kindness I have for you: But by making excuses I do but take up more of your time, and therefore must tell you that this morning Lord Marl. went away; as little reason as I have to care for his wife, yet I must pity her condition, having lain in but eight days; and I have great compassion for wives when their husbands go to fight. There has been a great debate this morning in the cabinet council, whether the commissioners of the admiralty should be trusted with the secret. Mr. Russel thought it was no matter if the whole town knew it; Lord President thought the whole success depends upon it being a secret, and would not have the commissioners of the admiralty told it by no means: Most were of his opinion, especially Lord Monmouth; but 'tis too tedious to write more of this: You will have an exact account from Lord Nott. of all that has been done besides to-day. If the wind continues fair, I hope this business will succeed; though I find if it do not, those who have advised it will have an ill time, all except Lord Nott. being very much against it: Lord President only complying because it is your order; but not liking it, and wondering England should be so exposed, thinking it too great a hazard. There would be no end should I tell you all I hear upon this subject, but I thank God I am not afraid, nor do I doubt of the thing since 'tis by your order. I pray God the weather does not change with
you

you as it does here; it has rained all last night and this day, and looks as if it were set in for it. Every thing frights me now, but were I once more so happy as to see you here, I fancy I should fear nothing. I have always forgot to tell you that in the Utrecht Courant they have printed a letter of yours to the States, in which you promise to be soon with them; I can't tell you how many ill hours I have had about that in the midst of all my joy; when I thought you were coming home, it troubled me to think you would go over and fight again there. Now my letter is already so long, but 'tis as if I were bewitched to-night, I can't end for my life; but will force myself now, beseeching God to bless you and keep you from all dangers whatsoever; and send us a happy meeting again here upon earth, and at last a joyfull and blessed one in heaven in his good time. Farewell; do but continue to love me, and forgive the taking up so much of your time to your poor wife, who deserves more pity than ever any creature did, and who loves you a great deal too much for her own ease, though it can't be more than you deserve."

Queen Mary to King William.—Her dislike of the Queen Dowager.

Whitehall, Sept. the 1stth, 1690.

"**N**OTHING can express the impatience I have to see you, nor my joy to think it is so near; I have not slept all this night for it, though I had but five hours sleep the night before, for a reason I shall tell you. I had a compliment last night from Q. Dowager, who came to town a Friday; she sent it I believe with the better heart because Limmericke is not taken: For my part I don't think of that or any thing else but you; God send you a good journey home, and make me thankfull as I ought for all his mercies."

Lord Shrewsbury to Lord Gaermarthen.—Offers to take the command of the fleet upon the defeat off Beachy-head.—In King William's cabinet.

My Lord, Southborrow, July the 12th, 90.

“ THIS place, as much as I can see yet of it, has as much the air of real solitude, as the most romantic grove you ever read of; whether it be my Lord Torrington or Mr. Tourville's fault is not yet decided, but yesterday we met so many Dutch seamen upon the road, that that subject fills me with compassion, but at the same time leads me to what I sat down with intention to write upon, which I desire you will keep to yourself, unless you see a fit opportunity, and withal that you think my proposal neither too vain nor too foolish.

If I do not very much mistake Mr. Russel's inclinations, I think he is not very fond nor ambitious of undertaking this expedition at sea, not being, I believe, confident enough of his own experience to desire the command alone, nor yet willing to undergo so much trouble and danger as such a business requires, when he is only to share the honour with other commissioners. If he does not go, I conclude no other single man will be trusted with the fleet, there being objections against every body can be named, either for want of skill, or security of their inclinations to the government. If the fleet be commanded by commissioners, I imagine there will be appointed one man of quality and two seamen. If my Lord Pembroke desires it, nobody can dispute what is so much his due; but by several people I have spoken with, there appears too great a backwardness in every body to undertake the regaining this lost game, that I doubt whether any will offer themselves who are fit to be accepted: It is only in this case, and no other, that I think myself obliged

obliged to let you know, that if there should any such great want be, as that I could be serviceable (which is hardly credible) I would venture myself with all the readiness imaginable, and promise you, that as I should be able to do little good, I would do as little hurt, which is all can be expected from the best you can send, if joined with two able mettled seamen, which I am sure are the only people can recover this disgrace.

I cannot help being so ridiculous as to be mightily piqued at the affront the nation has suffered, and think it so much concerns the interest as well as reputation of every man that calls himself an Englishman, not to suffer this domineering fleet to go home without a revenge, and call themselves ever after sovereigns of the sea, that I am very solicitous to hear good men are named for this command, that it might be somebody's business, who is sufficiently concerned in the success, to see this fleet equipped with diligence and care. This long letter is writ contrary to all orders of a regular water-drinker, and in great haste. If what I have offered be very wrong, I hope you will have the charity to conceal the follies of, &c."

Marquis of Caermarthen to King William.—Suspensions of Lord Monmouth.—In King William's Cabinet.

S I R,

London, 16th June 1690.

"MY former of the 13th did not go as I expected, because I understood it would have no other conveyance than by the ordinary post, by which not only myself dare not write, but my lord Marlborow and others (who know less than I do of that matter) have declared publicly that they will not write but by expresses, having reason to believe that Major Wildman has exact impressions of most people's seals, and that he makes use of his art.

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He does now produce letters which he pretends to intercept every post, which are interlined with white ink, with the best intelligence which can be given of your Majesty's councils and affairs: They are always directed to Monf. Coutenay, at Amsterdam; and I remember my Lord Monmouth told me of such a direction above two months ago; but we never saw any of these till one about four days before your Majesty's departure, and they are so much of one strain, that I cannot hinder myself from suspecting them to be sham letters, either to bring some of your council under suspicion of betraying secrets, or to put a value upon Mr. Wildman's great diligence in your service at this time.

I cannot but also acquaint your Majesty with a private discourse of my Lord Monmouth's to me on the 14th, which did much surprize me; but although I now believe there is no such danger, yet it is fit for your Majesty's knowledge. It was that he did then believe we should in a few hours from that time hear that 5000 French foot were landed in Scotland, to which a great number of Scotch were joined by that time. I told him if he knew it to be true, he ought to acquaint the Queen with it; which he said he would have done, if he had been very sure of the truth of it; but he was confident it would be found true in a few hours longer: But hearing nothing of it the next day, I asked him, why he had said so before? he answered, that the news had been brought by a man who came post out of Scotland in forty-eight hours, and had rid himself almost dead; but said he did not know the man, nor how to enquire after him: And upon further discourse he said, he had told your Majesty that he would endeavour to get what intelligence he could out of Scotland for your service, and that he would endeavour to prevent all things there which might tend to your disservice, but that he would be torn to pieces before he would

would name any persons, and that you were contented to give him that liberty.—In short—although I hope he wishes well to your Majesty, I believe him to be abused by Wildman; and he was in as much disorder as I ever saw, when Ferguson's papers were searched, and went about a dozen times to his lodging, where Wildman was all the time.

I say not this with any reflection upon my Lord (who I do in my conscience believe means well to your interest), but I believe he has been privy to more of the Scotch designs than he now wishes he had known."

Lord Caermarthen to King William, upon the defeat at Beachy Head.—Presses him to return from Ireland.—In King William's Cabinet.

S I R,

London, 7th July 1690.

" I WRIT so at large to your Majesty yesterday, that I ought not to trouble you so soon again, were it not to congratulate your Majesty's victory over your enemies at Drogheda, which I hope I need not go about to persuade your Majesty of my rejoyceing in as truly as any of your subjects. It is pity that so much bravery and greatness as your Majesty shews in all kinds, should meet with any such repulse as you have done at sea; but I hope that may be repaired if those will do their dutys to whom it belongs.

However, as the present case is, without your Majesty's speedy returne (besides many inconveniencies here which would be prevented by it), I do to the utmost degree apprehend its being made impracticable, in some little time hence, for you to returne this summer, if you would, especially with any force, of which I think there is appearance enough that there will be need here, and yet how great soever that need bee, it seems unreasonable to desire
troops

order, which is Churchill, Elmore, Wheeler, and Mitchell; he says Lord President may write to you about one Carter, and 'tis like enough he will, for he tells me he is much an older officer, and will quit if these come over his head, and says all goes by partiality and faction, as indeed I think it's but too plain in other things; how it is in this you will be best able to judge. I writ you word before what Mr. Russel said of the two first; you will do in it as you please, for I told the commissioners myself, that I hoped you wou'd be here so soon, that I did not see why this matter shou'd not stay for your coming, and so I resolve to leave it, if it's possible, but cou'd not refuse my Lord Marl, nor indeed myself, the writing you the matter as it is, tho' he expects I should write in his favour, which tho' I would not promise, yet I did make him a sort of compliment, after my fashion, I need not repeat either how much I love you, nor how impatient I am to see you, you are kind enough to be perswaded of both, and I shall make it my endeavour, while I live, never to give you cause to change your opinion of me, no more than I shall my kindness for you, which is much above imagination."

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"THIS day at noon I received yours, which came by the way of Dublin, and am sorry to see the messenger's news confirmed; but it has pleased God to bless you with such a continued success all this while, that it is, may be, necessary to have some little cross. I hope in God this will not prove a great one to the main business, tho' 'tis a terrible thought to me, that your coming is put off

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off again for so long time; I think it so, I'm sure, and have great reason every manner of way. I will say nothing of what my poore heart suffers, but must tell you, that I am now in great pain about the naming the flags. Mr. Russell came to me last night, and said it would now be absolutely necessary; when I insisted upon staying till I heard from you, he desired to know if I had any particular reason; I told him plainly, that since I could not pretend to know myself who were the fittest, it troubled me to see all were not of a mind; that I was told by several persons, that there were ancient officers in the fleet, who had now behaved themselves very well this last time, and would certainly quit if these were preferred; so that he could not blame me if I desired, in this difficulty, to stay for your answer, to whom I had wrote: To this he answered in more passion than ever I saw him, that Carter and Davis, which he knew Lord President and Lord Nott. would speak for, were two pitiful fellows, and very mean seamen; that next summer he would not command the fleet if they should have flags. After a long dispute about this matter, I have put him off till the last moment comes, when they are to sail; he says, then he must speak of it to the comm. and hear who will speak against it, by which I may judge. I see Lord Marl. heart is very much set upon this matter, and Mr. Russell, as you may see by what I write, on t'other side. Lord President says, if Churchill have a flag, he will be called the flag by favour, as his brother is called the general of favour: He says absolutely this Carter will quit, and commends him highly; but I must tell you another thing, which is, that he is mightily dissatisfied with the business of Kinsale. I see he does not oppose it, for he says 'tis your order, and therefore must be obeyed; but I find he raises many difficulties to me; what he does to others I can't tell, but among other things, he endeavours to fright

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Aug. 22, 1690.

"THIS day at noon I received yours, which came by the way of Dublin, and am sorry to see the messenger's news confirmed; but it has pleased God to bless you with such a continued success all this while, that it is, may be, necessary to have some little cross. I hope in God this will not prove a great one to the main business, tho' 'tis a terrible thought to me, that your coming is put off

off again for so long time; I think it so, I'm sure, and have great reason every manner of way. I will say nothing of what my poore heart suffers, but must tell you, that I am now in great pain about the naming the flags. Mr. Russel came to me last night, and said it would now be absolutely necessary; when I insisted upon staying till I heard from you, he desired to know if I had any particular reason; I told him plainly, that since I could not pretend to know myself who were the fittest, it troubled me to see all were not of a mind; that I was told by several persons, that there were ancient officers in the fleet, who had now behaved themselves very well this last time, and would certainly quit if these were preferred; so that he could not blame me if I desired, in this difficulty, to stay for your answer, to whom I had wrote: To this he answered in more passion than ever I saw him, that Carter and Davis, which he knew Lord President and Lord Nott. would speak for, were two pitiful fellows, and very mean seamen; that next summer he would not command the fleet if they should have flags. After a long dispute about this matter, I have put him off till the last moment comes, when they are to sail; he says, then he must speak of it to the comm. and hear who will speak against it, by which I may judge. I see Lord Marl. heart is very much set upon this matter, and Mr. Russell, as you may see by what I write, on t'other side. Lord President says, if Churchill have a flag, he will be called the flag by favour, as his brother is called the general of favour: He says absolutely this Carter will quit, and commends him highly; but I must tell you another thing, which is, that he is mightily dissatisfied with the business of Kinfae. I see he does not oppose it, for he says 'tis your order, and therefore must be obeyed; but I find he raises many difficulties to me; what he does to others I can't tell, but among other things, he endeavours to
fright

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BOOK VI.

1693.

The French
take Mons.

he had done it. Already in imagination, the Princes of Europe grasped the first of these provisions; the French, suspicious of gifts from enemies, and, perhaps, lost even to the sound of liberty, scorned that protection which was offered them in the second; and the English, who had been enraged against their former Prince for paying some compliments of civility to the Pope because these led to consequences, now heard of the last with indifference because it led to none.

From the splendour of this congress, William retired to enjoy the pleasures of solitude at Loo, where he had spent his infancy and youth. But he was soon disturbed with the news that Louis XIV, taking advantage of a favourable season in the month of March, and attended by the Dauphin, and the Princes of the Blood, had laid siege to Mons, which was garrisoned by 5000 soldiers, and a still greater number of burghers. William hastened to assemble his army to protect the town. He called the troops of the allies from all quarters to his assistance. Louis XIV, drew his garrisons from the neighbouring towns to reinforce himself. The two armies approached with their Sovereigns at their heads; All Europe was big with expectation to see the Kings of England and of France placed against each other in battle, a few months after the Kings of England had exhibited the same spectacle. But the German troops assembled slowly: The Spaniards, to whom the care of the carriages of the army had been committed, neglected to provide them; William found himself obliged to act with caution: And, in the mean time, the burghers, a race of men never to be trusted in danger, because they have much to lose and nothing to gain in it, forced the troops to surrender Mons, by threatening to open the gates, if they did not. Louis XIV, who, during all his life, appeared more intent to mortify than to conquer his rival, returned to Versailles; and sent back his soldiers to their winter quarters,

When

When William's intention to go abroad was made known, his enemies resolved to take advantage of the opportunity, which his absence would afford them, to enter into a new conspiracy against his government. The indignation of many of the whigs against him for dissolving the convention parliament, for breaking with their party, and combining his interests with those of their rivals and enemies, had been gathering strength by time and reflection; and their submission in parliament had been only a contrivance to lull his anxieties asleep, and a prelude to the mischiefs they meditated. They joined themselves to a number of the tory party. Both made advances to the adherents of the late King. And all, making concessions to each other, concurred in complaining of things with which most of them had been separately pleased. They inveighed, "It was now time for the nation to recover from the delirium into which the ill conduct of James had plunged it; for James to show his sense of past errors; and for both to forgive the injuries they had mutually given and received. The remedy which had been tried, was found to be worse than the disease; they must now, therefore, return to old principles upon new conditions. If King James had not all the reverence for the liberty and religion of his country which he ought, he had at least private virtue; but his successor had neither. For, that *babeas corpus* law, which Charles the Second and his brother had sacredly observed, William had got suspended: He had attempted in England to invade the shrines and altars of the church, and to bring her mortal foes into her bosom; and in Scotland, he had overturned that hierarchy in an hour, which the race of Stuart had defended near a century; one of them at the expence of his life, and another with the risk of his crown: He had come into England under the pretence

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BOOK VI.

1691.

Second conspiracy
against the
government.Complaints
on which it
was found-
ed.

" of

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1691.

“ of reconciling the King to his people; yet had de-
 “ throned him: Not contented with commanding his
 “ father-in-law, and uncle, to retire from his own pa-
 “ lace, driving him from his kingdom, excluding the
 “ right of one of his children from the succession, and
 “ postponing that of another, he had, under the pretence
 “ of communicating royalty to that wife whom he pre-
 “ tended to love, left her only the name of it. His obli-
 “ gations to individuals he had repaid with ingratitude
 “ exactly proportioned to their extent: For the bishops,
 “ who first raised the popular torrent of which he took
 “ advantage, were suspended, and deprivation was just
 “ hanging over them: Lord Mordaunt, who had pointed
 “ him the way to the crown, and Lord Hallifax, who,
 “ in the name of the people of England, had presented the
 “ crown itself to him, he had dismissed from serving un-
 “ der it: Lord Torrington, who had confirmed the spi-
 “ rits of the Dutch seamen, and caused those of the Eng-
 “ lish seamen to waver, at the time of the revolution, he
 “ had disgraced, first at the head of the admiralty, as a
 “ weak minister, and now, at that of the fleet, as a cow-
 “ ard: Lord Marlborough, who had debauched the army,
 “ and gained the Prince and Princess of Denmark to his
 “ interest, had been trusted only once with an independent
 “ command; and that Lord had more to fear now from
 “ his own success, than others from the want of it: Marl-
 “ borough’s brother, Captain Churchill, who had been the
 “ first sea-officer that gave up his ship to him, he had not
 “ protected against the partialities of party in the house
 “ of commons: Lord Cornbury, who was the first officer
 “ in the land service that had deserted his King and his Ge-
 “ neral, had been among the first to be cashiered by him:
 “ The Duke of Ormond, who for him had cast away
 “ a loyalty which was the pride of his family, had shared
 “ the same fate: The Princess, who had consented to
 “ place

“ place the crown upon his head at the expence of her own
 “ rights, he had mal-treated ; he had affronted her hus-
 “ band : And, before he was a year upon the throne, he
 “ had dismissed that parliament, and broken with that
 “ party, which had placed him upon it. Ungrateful to
 “ the nation which had raised him high, as well as to
 “ individuals, the national troops he did not trust ; he
 “ preferred the Dutch officers every where to the English ;
 “ took care of their wounded seamen when his own were
 “ neglected ; and sacrificed the honour of the nation, by
 “ making apologies for the behaviour of the fleet to fo-
 “ reigners, and arraigning it in parliament ; and was
 “ now meditating to enrich his countrymen by the cala-
 “ mities of Ireland, which his negligence had at first oc-
 “ casioned, and his imprudence now prevented from be-
 “ ing brought to a period. He had engaged England in
 “ a war with which, had it not been upon his account,
 “ she had nothing to do ; and while he was sending the
 “ fleet to pay idle compliments to a German Princess, he
 “ had exposed the navy, the coasts, and the capital, de-
 “ fenceless, to an enemy which he had drawn upon them.
 “ The friendship of his countrymen was as fatal to the
 “ nation as his own ; for their rashness at Beachy-head
 “ had brought as much danger upon it, as their delays in
 “ avoiding the battle of Bantry-bay. Disgrace, misfor-
 “ tune, ruin, attended him : He had never gained a
 “ battle, but against his own subjects : The maritime
 “ glory of England, unsullied for centuries, had been
 “ twice lost by him in a reign of two years : The trade
 “ of England, which had flourished so high in the two
 “ last reigns, was now fallen a victim to the ambition of
 “ a Prince, who was solely intent upon defending his
 “ own title, or conducting the projects of other nations.
 “ He had raised yearly sums from England, unknown
 “ since the conquest, and all to no purpose. Even vic-
 “ tory

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BOOK VI.

1591.

A consulta-
tion of
whigs and
tories.

tory was to him unprofitable; for, instead of repairing the state of Ireland, after defeating its enemies, he had left that kingdom in a heap of ruins."

These complaints, often repeated, at last broke forth into action. A number of whigs and tories assembled together, to consult how those ends might be obtained which both wished for. In their conference, several errors in the conduct of the late conspiracy were pointed out. They remarked, "That, by taking measures for insurrections in different parts of England, those who were engaged in the conspiracy had given the alarm to government: That the French fleet had been sent out too late in the summer: That, as James's intended return had been preceded by no declaration from him, which could either secure individuals of their pardon, or the nation of its rights, it had had the air of a conquest; and the people upon that account had been animated against it: That the same ideas had been confirmed by the conduct of the French King, who, while he pretended to interest himself in the settlement of a protestant kingdom, was persecuting the protestant religion in his own: And that even James himself did not seem sensible of former errors, seeing he was still surrounded with Roman catholic counsellors." They, therefore, proposed, that James's restoration should be effected intirely by foreign forces, to be employed in a double invasion; one in Scotland, and the other in England: That, in the ensuing February, James should sail to Scotland, and be joined there by 5000 Swedes, who, because they were of the protestant religion, it was thought would remove part of the odium which attended an invasion by foreigners: That, in March, while the English forces were to be sent towards Scotland, to oppose James, and before the new ships on the stocks in England and Holland could be finished, or the

the fleets of the two nations for the summer service be joined, a French fleet should land a French army in England; and, to lessen even the odium of this last embarkation, that the French King should immediately give full liberty of conscience in his kingdom, and agree in the conduct of his part of the invasion to act as a mediator between James and his people; not as an ally to conquer them for him. It was further concerted, that James should now remove his Roman catholic counsellors, and publish a declaration when he landed, that he would send back his foreign troops whenever those of his enemy should be removed, and refer all the subjects of late jealousies to a free parliament. From that spirit of selfishness which attends most conspiracies because the persons engaged in them know well the value of the risks which they are running, the persons who composed this meeting, under the pretence that all his other correspondents either hurt or betrayed him, insisted, that James should give up all correspondence in England; except with themselves, and that he should receive seven or nine of their number, as a standing council, to attend and advise him in France. In order to lose no time, it was resolved to send over trusty persons to France; with the result of this consultation, and to receive an answer to the terms of it. The persons fixed upon were Ashton and Lord Preston: The one, because his fidelity had been tried in the late conspiracy; and the other, because his former rank of ambassador in France; and Secretary of State in England, would, it was thought, give weight to the negotiation at Versailles and St. Germain. Lord Dartmouth was the person who chiefly pressed on these engagements. For, stung with a suspicion which many had endeavoured to instil into James, that he had, at the revolution, betrayed the fleet with which he was trusted, he had, soon after that period, given assurances, that he would bring the fleet to

Lord Preston and Ashton sent to France.

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1691.

They are
seized.

revolt: But finding, upon trial, that his influence was less with the officers than with the seamen, he had next proposed, that the French, after putting their seamen ashore in winter as usual, should send their ships of war, with only as many hands as could work them, to the coast of England; pledging his honour, that he would get them instantly manned with English seamen. But Louis XIV. refused to venture his ships, not without some expressions of distrust of Lord Dartmouth. From these circumstances, Dartmouth was become impatient for an opportunity to wipe off all stains from his honour.

Ashton hired a smack to carry Lord Preston and himself into France. They took a barge secretly, and in the dark, above the bridge of London, and went on board the smack below it: Ashton tied a string, with a weight, round their papers, to sink them if they were boarded. But Providence seemed to interest itself in the interruption of this conspiracy. As it is natural for the human mind to give vent, one way or other, to whatever occupies it entirely, Ashton appeared uneasy whilst they waited at the inn, and said to one of his companions, upon hearing the cock crow, "That bad fortune would attend them; he liked not the omen." This created a suspicion in the master, which he communicated to the owner of the smack, who communicated it to the Marquis of Caermarthen, president of the council. The night being cold, one of Lord Preston's party borrowed the waterman's coat in the barge, and in the hurry carried it off; and the complaints of the waterman to his companions directed Caermarthen's messenger to the name of the smack. When the smack passed a frigate of war in the river, Lord Preston and Ashton hid themselves in the ballast; and by this accident they were prevented from throwing their packet over-board when they were seized.

The

The result of the consultation, the heads of James's intended declaration, a list of the English fleet which had been supplied by Lord Dartmouth, a paper of notes concerning the project of the invasion, with a number of letters falsely subscribed, directed, and written in a cant style, but amidst which it was easy to discover that the letters were intended for the late King, were found in Ashton's bosom. The papers, when read at court, raised many jealousies. In one of the letters, which was in the bishop of Ely's hand-writing to James, under the name of Mr. Redding, it was said: "I speak in the plural, " because I write my elder brother's sentiments as well as " my own, and the rest of the family's; though lessened " in number, yet, if we are not mightily mistaken, we " are growing in our interest, that is in your's." Words which plainly imported, that the rest of the deprived bishops were his associates. Another, in the hand-writing of Lord Clarendon, contained these words: "Now is " the time to make large advantages by trading; the sea " being freer than it has been these two months past, or " we can hope it will be two months hence. It is most " earnestly desired that this happy opportunity may not be " lost, especially by the late undertakers; and I would " not for much, they should receive the least disgust. " They are somewhat positive in their terms; but they " also say they will be good and constant customers: " And I have more than once seen the mischief of over- " rating and over-staying the market. Opportunities " are to be used; they cannot be given by men *:"

Dec. 31.

* Another of his letters ran thus: "The sea will quickly grow so trouble-
" some, that, unless you dispatch what you intend for us, you will lose a
" great opportunity of advantage. I hope the account he has to give of
" our negotiations here with the merchants that deal with us, especially
" those that have lately brought us their custom, will both encourage a
" larger trade, and excite the utmost diligence."

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Expressions which were thought to relate, and did relate, to the late accession of many of the whig party to the cause of James. The paper, called "The Result of the Conference," confirmed this: Because, in the beginning, it ran, "In the name of both whigs and Tories;" and at the conclusion bore, "that it was with the unanimous consent of those whigs and Tories who are now in a way of closing for his interest." But the paper of notes, which was in Preston's hand-writing, gave the greatest alarm; because it imported, that the common seamen were disloyal, that Rear-admiral Carter, and other sea-officers at Portsmouth, were unsteady; made mention, with ambiguity and darkness, of some of the King's servants, and of the greatest of the whig lords; and contained hints of schemes big with mischief to England; and, among others, that ships should be brought from Scotland to block up Newcastle, and by that means to cut off the city of London from fuel; and that, whilst one part of a French fleet was stationed to command Plymouth, another would attack Portsmouth, in which, it was said, there were not 500 men at the time.

Lord Preston and Ashton refused to turn informers. Their trials were therefore hurried on about a fortnight after they were taken, in order, by the terrors of death, to force a discovery. They were both condemned. Ashton was executed, obstinate in silence, and proud, by his example, to point out to his noble associate the conduct which he ought to follow. When Preston * was heated with dinner and wine, and the incitements of his friends, he resolved to die too, but in the solitude of the mornings and evenings, he gave signs of faltering, and at last made some confessions. During this interval, his daughter, then a young girl about court, afterwards Countess of Derwentwater, whose husband lost his head on Tower-

Jan. 16.
Lord Preston's confession.

* Burnet.

hill in the year 1715, for his attachment to the Stuart family, looking one day long and steadily upon King James's picture at Kensington, and Queen Mary asking her, what she was doing, she answered, "I am reflecting how hard it is, that my father should be put to death for loving your father *." At last, to determine the fluctuation of Preston's spirits, he was brought into the King's presence, who had come over for a few days from Holland, tempted with a pardon, and examined by Lord Caermarthen. He confessed against the bishops, and Clarendon, and many of the known partizans of the late King. He then named among his associates, the Duke of Ormond, the Lords Dartmouth, Macclesfield, Brandon, and Mr. Pen the Quaker; and added, Pen told him, that, although Lord Dorset and Lord Devonshire had not attended the conference, they were of the party. He offered to name others of the great whig families. Lord Caermarthen, who had formerly and lately been persecuted by that party, eagerly pushed him on, bidding him go to the bottom of the conspiracy. But the King, who stood behind Caermarthen's chair, and was then leaning over it, touched him upon the shoulder, saying, "My Lord, there is too much of this;" and, with equal prudence and generosity, drew a veil over offences into which the best of his subjects had been too hastily betrayed. Yet, to prevent future mischief, he committed Clarendon to the tower; and, not long after, sent Dartmouth to the same place, upon receiving certain information of a letter he had written to James, in which he assured ~~that~~ the Prince of his resolution to quit the English service and join him. Dartmouth died soon after in the tower; and then the King ordered the governor to pay to his corpse all the honours of war which were due to an admiral of England †. William treated the Scotch part of

The King's
behaviour.

* Granger's Biographies, tit. Graham. Burnet.

† Collins's Peerage, tit. Dartmouth.

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1691.

The bishops
deprived.

the conspirators with equal generosity. Several of the nobility had been seized *; but orders were given to set them at liberty, if they would give their words of honour not to disturb the government. Lord Arran, with that undaunted spirit which sprang from the blood of the great families of Douglas and Hamilton united in his person, refused to give his word, "because," he said, "he was sure he could not keep it."

The fate of this conspiracy drew after it that of the nonjuring bishops, whose sees were now bestowed upon others. Their fidelity to their religious principles at one time, and to their civil at another, together with their tenderness for a Prince who had shewn none to them, would have entitled them to respect even from an opposite party, had they not sullied all their honours by publications, in which they reminded the people of what five of them had suffered for opposing popery and arbitrary power, denied, in the most solemn manner, their accession to all conspiracy, and prayed for mercy and forgiveness to those who had fixed the imputations of such things upon them: A mixture of attachment to principle, and of the want of principle, which it would be difficult to account for, was it not that, from an abuse of language, they did not consider that to be conspiracy, which they called duty, nor that to be invasion, which they thought was, by the mediation (as their party called it) of an ally, to transport James into his kingdom, nor that to be conquest, which was to drive an usurper from it: So that, in all probability, they imposed upon themselves, without meaning to deceive others †.

* Books of Scottish privy council, May 28. June 25. and passim.

† Some of Sancroft's letters at this time to Sir John North are published, and, if attentively considered, will perhaps justify the truth of this observation.

The bishops, who knew that their prosecution had ruined one King, and believed that their punishment would draw the same consequence upon another, were astonished to find, that they fell without the people's almost observing it. Their friends, therefore, endeavoured, by employing the press, to rouse the nation to take part in their quarrel. Many on the side of government thought they should shew their zeal for its interests, by answering the pamphlets which were published for the bishops. But the nation saw the paper-war with indifference. The partizans of the old bishops next attacked the characters of the new ones, and of several late converts in the church: And then, indeed, the malignity of men made them read what their indolence had made them overlook. These polemics, accustomed to write, published a variety of papers, to dissuade the people from submission, by the example of the unsubmitting prelates, and in favour of hereditary right and passive obedience. Here government interposed, because its interests were concerned, and employed the famous Mr. Locke to combat those doctrines: For, while the supreme power of other states applies to the fears, that of the English is obliged to apply to the reason, of its subjects. The reasonings of such a philosopher, in such a cause, were greedily received by the British nation; and William found, that he made more converts by the writings of another, than by his own services in defence of their liberties.

Before the King returned to Holland to take upon him the command of the army, he had given orders to Ginkell in Ireland, to make an end of the war there at any rate; and, for that purpose, had furnished * his army completely with recruits, and every kind of military provision, and sent him an unlimited pardon to all who would

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1691.

Indifference
of the nation
on to their
fall.

State of the
armies in
Ireland.

* Story, 2. p. 34.

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ask the benefit of it. James, in the mean time, having been informed of the disorders which had been committed in Ireland during the winter, had sent back Tyrconnel, as chief governor, to put an end to them. Competitions upon this arose between Tyrconnel and Sarsfield *, the one jealous of his ancient power, and the other impatient of new command. In hopes of stopping these, St. Ruth, a French general, and good officer, was sent in the spring to command the army: A man who, it was thought, would be agreeable to the Irish Roman Catholics; because he had signalized himself against the Protestants in France. But, although a great part of the Irish army had, from want of money, stores, and provisions, been dispersed †, St. Ruth was furnished with none of those necessaries. And the Irish complained equally of the ill-timed parsimony of the French, and of James's want of respect, who, in return for all their services, had put a foreigner at last over the heads of all their countrymen. St. Ruth, conscious of his weakness, resolved on a war of defence, sent garrisons to the strongest towns upon the Irish side of the Shannon, and placed himself with his army behind Athlone.

When Ginkell heard of the discontents and difficulties of his enemies ‡, he resolved not to publish the pardon with which he was entrusted, until he should pass the Shannon, lest his making use of it sooner might be imputed to fear, and lest the well-affected part of the Irish §, whose minds were inflamed with the passions of their countrymen, might be provoked to disappoint the preparations for a campaign, which they foresaw was to be terminated by the impunity of their enemies. Having animated his own troops, and disheartened the enemies, by several ad-

* Gazette, March 19. † Ibid. May 21. and Letters Lord Justices to Lord Nottingham, in the paper-office. ‡ Ibid. Letter, June 17, 1691. § Ibid. May 7, 1691.

vantages gained in the spring, and by the surrender of Ballimore, which, from want of powder, yielded almost as soon as it was attacked, he advanced on the 19th of June to Athlone. But in his haste he neglected to establish magazines or places of communication behind him *.

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1691.

Athlone consisted of two towns, one on the English, and the other on the Irish side of the Shannon, which were joined together by a stone bridge, and by a ford a little space below the bridge. Both towns were fortified; but that upon the English side, weakly. The second day of the siege, Ginkell, by good fortune, made a large breach in one of the bastions of the town on the English side, and ordered General M^cKay to storm the bastion. It is dangerous for troops under attack to know that there is a place of safety prepared for them: The Irish fled to the bridge to make their way to the other town, and part of them got into it. But the garrison which stood on the opposite side, apprehensive that M^cKay might pass the bridge with the fugitives, broke down the arch nearest to their own side; and thus obliged their companions either to ask quarter, which few of them chose to do, or to seek a passage in the Shannon, where most of them were drowned †.

General
Ginkell
takes the
English part
of Athlone.

When Ginkell got possession of the town on the English side, he found that the Irish, expecting it would be taken, had raised many entrenchments and other works in the town to which they had retired, from whence they played over upon the station which they had just quitted; and that the ford between the two towns was breast-high, stony, impassable by above twenty men in a rank, and commanded by a castle adjoining to it,

Dispute for
the Irish
part of the
town.

* General M^cKay's manuscript memoirs.

† Story. General M^cKay's manuscript. Gazette, June 19.

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and by the walls of the town next the river. He therefore resolved, in imitation of the enemies, to entrench himself in the town which he possessed, and then to make a bridge of pontons below the ford, destroy their works which commanded the ford, and carry on a wooden work on the stone bridge for the purpose of throwing great planks of wood across the broken arch, and for covering his men whilst they were working. During nine days, one of the most singular spectacles in history was exhibited; that of two armies waging war upon each other within the walls of a town, and amidst the ruins they made, where every bullet that was shot brought the imprecations of the inhabitants upon both armies. Ginkell soon found, that his project of a bridge of pontons was vain; because the bank on the opposite side was firm only at one place, and that place was guarded by the enemy. Upon this, he bent his chief attention to gain safety to the passage across the stone bridge. Upon the ninth day, the planks over the arch of the stone bridge were finished; breaches lay open in the castle, and in the walls next the ford; one body of men was appointed to force the bridge, and another the ford; handfuls of money were distributed amongst the soldiers of both; the English army was drawn up to support them; St. Ruth, in the mean time, poured new-troops continually into the town on his side of the river, and placed the rest of his army under the walls next his camp: All men were impatient for the event. But in this critical moment a grenade, thrown from the Irish side, set fire to the wooden work upon the bridge, and destroyed all that the English had done. The attack was countermanded; and the troops returned to their quarters, discovering *, by the fullness and dejection of their looks, the passions in their minds. The misfortune appeared to be of the greater consequence, be-

Ginkell's
intended at-
tack fails.

* General M'Kay's manuscript memoirs.

cause * provisions were beginning to become scarce in the army, and it was known that Ginkell had not made proper securities behind him for a retreat. Upon the news of these things, a sudden panic seized the Protestants in Ireland; and the citizens of Dublin † barricadoed the avenues to the city, and prepared to raise works all around it.

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1691,

In the mean time Ginkell saw that there was now nothing left, but to retire, or to force a passage at the ford alone. In both measures there was danger: For, on the one hand, the retreat before a pursuing and elated enemy was hazardous; and upon the other, the ford was difficult and not certainly known, and the chief hopes of success in the passage had been originally placed in the bridges. He called therefore a council of war the same day that his intended attack was disappointed. The number of generals of different nations, which commonly raises dissension, proved here the source of emulation. The English General Talmash, the French La Mello-niere, the Danish Tettau, the Dutch Count Nassau, the German the young and brave Prince of Hesse Darmstadt; but, above all, the Duke of Wirtemberg, who was the second in command, and impatient for glory that he might become the first; all thought their own honours, and those of the troops they commanded, interested in pressing an attempt to which even its danger was an incitement. M^cKay, the Scottish General, alone remonstrated against it, partly from the caution of age, and partly from its positiveness; for he had from the beginning declared, that the passage ought to have been tried at other places of the river, and not in the face of a town and an army. Ginkell, who was afraid of being blamed by the King for avoiding to publish a pardon which might have prevented

He calls a
council the
same day.
Opinions a-
bout forcing
the ford.

* General M^cKay's manuscript memoirs.

† Ibid.

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1691.

Preparations
for the at-
tack upon
the ford
next day.

the present mischief, gave to the remonstrances of the other generals just that degree of opposition which he knew would increase their keenness in argument, and engage their honour and their pride in the success of an attempt in which they had over-ruled the opinion of their General. It was resolved to attempt the passage next day *.

When next day arrived, it was found that two accidents had happened during the night, which made it no longer rash in the generals to persevere in the resolutions they had taken. St. Ruth, upon the destruction of the English works, and the retreat of their troops, believing they had given up their design as desperate, had sent three of his worst regiments, whom he had never hitherto trusted with the works, to relieve a garrison fatigued with service and anxiety: And, during the whole night, the Irish had provoked the English soldiers †, by calling to them across the river, in derision, “ That they had given bad “ pennyworths for the money which their Generals had “ bestowed upon them the day before.” And these affronts made the soldiers clamorous in the morning for action. In the distribution of service, the command of the passage was M’Kay’s right: But Ginkell, unwilling to trust the care of it to one who deemed its success to be impossible, gave the command to Talmash. M’Kay complained to Talmash of his want of respect in taking it. But the English General shewed he deserved the command, by begging M’Kay’s permission to attend him as a volunteer. In order to avoid giving any alarm to the enemy by a stir in the camp or the town, it was resolved to make the attack at the ordinary hour of relieving the guards; because, at that time, there would be a double garrison in the town, without its being attended to. Orders were given for 2000 men to attempt the river; for ladders to be

* General M’Kay’s manuscript.

† Ibid.

secretly

secretly prepared in all parts of the town, which were to be placed against the walls opposite to the enemy, from whence an incessant fire might be made upon them; for the rest of the garrison to be ready to follow their companions; and for the army to march into the town, whenever the detachment should march to the ford *.

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The soldiers entered the river amidst the huzzas of their own body to drown their fears, and of their friends behind to animate them with hopes. M^cKay went on foot by the side of his men: Melloniere, Tettau, the Prince of Hesse, followed: Talmash attended every where as a volunteer. The Duke of Wirtemberg, having lost a horse, was carried over on the shoulders of his grenadiers. The fire from the ruins of the Irish castle, and of the walls next the river, was directed upon the ford; that from the English batteries and ladders upon the ruins; and that from the Irish entrenchments upon the English batteries; so that all hurt those who were doing mischief to others, and none received injuries from those whom they annoyed. The detachment advanced, gained the opposite bank, mounted the breaches which had been made in the walls next the river, and divided. One party carried the castle, made way for others who were passing the river, and then followed the ramparts of the town, partly to strike terror into the garrison by getting behind them, and partly to prevent the entrance of succours from the Irish camp: Another turned above the ford to the broken arch of the bridge, to assist their friends who were making a passage of planks upon the opposite side: A third wheeled below the ford, to secure the point of landing for a bridge of boats which the English were throwing across the river. When the ford and the bridges were laid open, multitudes passed over. The Irish garrison, upon the sight of these things,

The attack.

* General M^cKay's manuscript.

quitted

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The town
taken,

quitted their entrenchments, leaped over the ramparts, wherever they could find them not possessed by the enemy; and the town was evacuated within an hour after the first man had entered the river. St. Ruth marched his army to give relief, but too late: For, when he approached the walls, his own guns were turned against himself. He no sooner saw this, than his fears increased in proportion to his former ideas of security. Believing that the same impetuosity of courage which had excited the English to storm the town, might impel them to attack his camp, and that confidence and habit of success generally command success, he decamped instantly to Agrim, ten miles off, and arrived there the same night. Ginkell then published the King's declaration of pardon, and multitudes took advantage of it *.

and St. Ruth
retires to
Agrim,and prepares
for a battle.

At Agrim, St. Ruth, irritated by his double disgrace, and the taunts and reproaches of the Irish, who felt a momentary satisfaction in his misfortunes, although their own were involved in them, and continually alarmed with reports of those who were taking the benefit of the King's pardon, changed his intention of acting upon the defensive, and determined to set the fate of Ireland upon one decisive battle. For this end, drawing all the garrisons from the neighbouring towns, he gathered an army of 25,000 men around him.

Ginkell ad-
vances to
him. St.
Ruth's sta-
tion.

After Ginkell had spent a week in refreshing his troops, and making some repairs upon the works of Athlone, he advanced to the enemy. Upon his approach he found that St. Ruth had chosen his station with wisdom. His army lay encamped along a height in a line of two miles. Below, and half a mile from the front of his camp, there was a large bog, through which were two passages, one leading to the right, and the other to the left of his camp, but the rest of it was, to appearance, incapable of being

* General M'Kay's manuscript. Gazette, July

passed. The passage for Ginkell's army, through the bog to the left of the Irish camp, opened upon the left into a flat corn field, but in which not more than four battalions could form a front; and further on, towards the camp, it led to broken and difficult grounds, and to the ruins of the castle of Agrim, in which the cannon were placed. The passage through the bog to the right of their camp opened upon ground that was wider, and equal in its surface, but not sufficiently wide to afford room for an army. The intermediate space between these two openings was filled with hedges and ditches along the slope of the hill, and almost to the verge of the bog; and these were lined with troops. The rest of the Irish army was ranged behind the hedges, and upon the heights before the camp. The only thing which St. Ruth wanted, to give him the full advantage of such a situation, was cannon: But he had only nine field-pieces with him *.

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As the Irish army stood upon a height, most of them perceived the approach of the English army long before it arrived at the bog. St. Ruth spent the intermediate time in making dispositions, and in imitating the ancient generals by making a formal speech to his officers. The priests in all other places ran through the ranks of the soldiers, obliging them to swear upon the sacrament that they would not quit their colours, and animating them by the most powerful of all human motives in time of danger, the interests of eternity †.

Ginkell's army, dividing itself into two bodies, marched to the right and the left, through the two passes of the bog, with an intention to bend towards each other upon the other side, flank the enemies in the intermediate space, and join upon the higher grounds.

Battle of Agrim.

St. Ruth allowed the enemies to pass the bog without interruption, intending to attack the two bodies sepa-

* Gen. M'Kay. Gazetteer.

† Story. M'Kay's MS.

rately,

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rately, before they could give succour to each other; being certain, if he defeated them, that their retreat through the bog could not fail to be difficult. With this view, as soon as he saw the English left wing drawn into the open ground, he detached almost all his cavalry from his left wing, to give greater strength to his right. M^cKay, who observed the motion, and rejoiced that St. Ruth was to trust the strength of the battle where the ground was fairest for the English, advised Ginkell to draw off part of his right wing to the left, partly to assist it, but more to engage the enemy's attention still more upon that side. Whilst part of the right wing of the English was making this motion, M^cKay caused the bog, through which he had passed with the rest of the wing, to be sounded: Finding it, though difficult, not impassable, he ordered part of the troops under his command, instead of following him, to pass through the bog to the corn field on the left of the opening, and to keep their station there, without advancing upon the enemies in the hedges, until they saw that he had got forward, and was ready to flank them there. General Talmash, at the same time, began to march before him with a considerable body of troops, to make an attempt upon the castle of Agrim, then weakened by a draught which St. Ruth had made from his left wing to his right. But the impetuosity of English valour, and of the Prince of Hesse's youth, caused the troops which M^cKay had left in the corn field to forget his orders: They pressed forward upon the enemy, before their general had yet surmounted the difficulties of the broken ground. The Irish waited for them till they came up, and the first fire was exchanged through the first line of hedges, so that the ends of the muskets almost touched. The Irish, who had made openings in the hedges, and also communications between these, behind, and to the right and left, retired to draw their enemies on. The

English

English eagerly pursued: But in advancing, they found that new bodies of horse and foot had taken new posts in new places, while some of their former enemies had re-occupied their former stations; and that volleys of shot were poured upon their front, their flanks, and their rear. Ashamed of the dangers into which they had brought themselves, by neglecting the orders of that general, who had been so careful to save them, they struggled hard to make their ground good; but at last gave way, returned to their station in the corn-field, many of them even fled back through the bog, and it was believed by all who saw the flight, that the English had lost the battle. M'Kay, hearing of their distress, returned to relieve them, and sent an aid-de-camp to intreat Talmash to delay his enterprise, turn to the left, and assist him in flanking the enemies in the hedges. All parts of the right wing then united their efforts; M'Kay's and Talmash's troops, to give safety to their friends, and gain honour to themselves; and the others, to recover the honour they had lost. On the other side of the field, the same obstinacy was maintained: For, in this battle, the English and foreigners sought an end to all their labours, and the Irish thought they played their last stake for their independence and religion. Both parties were the more animated too, because the English saw their ruin in a flight through a bog with which they were not acquainted, and the Irish, because they knew the routes of the bog, and hoped to exterminate their enemies, when embarrassed in it. At length M'Kay, upon the right hand, gained ground; Ginkell, on the left, gained it likewise; both ascended the rising grounds, and, in their progress, seemed to draw nearer towards each other. St. Ruth saw the approach, and dreaded it. In order to prevent the junction, he descended with a strong body of troops from the heights where he had hitherto stood; but, in his descent, was killed by

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St. Ruth
killed, and
the Irish de-
feated.

a cannon-ball. Upon this, the foremost troops which he had been conducting halted: The word was given from rank to rank, and from man to man, that the general was killed: His guards retreated with his body: The troops behind, seeing that all stopped, and some turned back, mistook the motion for a flight, and joined for some time in the retreat with the guards: Nor, when they recovered their confusion, could Sarfefeld, who was second in command, give relief to the army: For, as he had been at variance with St. Ruth, it was not in his power to support a disposition which had not been communicated to him: And the three bodies, into which the army was now divided, finding they gave no help to each other, while, on the contrary, the two bodies of Ginkell's army, by making their way to one common point, brought assistance to each other; stopped, looked back, reeled, fled, and even threw all their arms behind them. The English pursued for four miles, but disgraced all the glories of the day, by giving no quarter. Seven hundred fell upon their side, and as many thousands on that of the enemy*. Tyrconnel died soon after, lamenting, with his last breath, the miseries which he had brought upon his country.

The Irish
make their
last stand at
Limerick,
and Ginkell
advances.

The Irish retired to Limerick, the only place of strength they had left, and resolved to make their last stand there; either to give time for the French, whose return they now prayed for in vain, to relieve them, or to get good terms for themselves from the English. Ginkell followed with as much haste as he could, intending to increase the terror of victory by the use he was to make of it; and, in his march, took in all the places which lay in his way or around him, as fast as his troops appeared before them. Gallway alone stood a siege of two days, and then its garrison was permitted to go to Limerick, to add

* Gen. M'Kay's MS. Story, 136. Gazette, July 16.

to the general confusion and famine of those who were there already.

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Description
of Lime-
rick, and
disposition
of the Irish
troops.

Limerick consisted of two towns, divided by a branch of the Shannon; one upon the English side of the river, called the Irish town; the other upon an island in the river, called the English town. The two were joined together by a bridge; and the English town was joined to the Irish side of the country by another bridge, called Thomond-bridge, which was defended by works on the Irish side of the river. Most of the Irish army were in these two towns; but all the cavalry, in number 1500, and a few regiments of infantry, were upon the Irish side of the Shannon, in order to procure provisions for themselves, and to prevent the English from passing the river, which was only passable by boats.

Ginkell sat down before Limerick upon the 25th of August, and made his approach upon the English side, by the same passage which King William had taken, and with the same want of opposition: For the Irish officers were afraid of disheartening their troops with more defeats in the field, and put all their hopes in walls, the branches of the river, and in time. Ginkell spent the first week in providing security for himself, and cutting off the enemy from assistance: For these purposes, he drew a line of contravallation behind his army, ordered the troops from all parts of Ireland to join him, and a small squadron of ships of war, which was then upon the coast, to sail up the river and block up the town, and dispatched different bodies of troops, to take in all the posts around, possessed by the Irish.

Ginkell's
preparation
for the siege.

Ginkell directed his batteries at first upon the Irish town. And all men were in expectation of seeing soon the spectacle, which had been exhibited at Athlone, renewed, of two armies waging war against each other within the same circuit of walls. But this was not

His attacks

[Y 2]

Ginkell's

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Ginkell's intention: He remembered the difficulties he had encountered: And he now attacked the Irish town only, because, standing on the same side of the river with himself, he was afraid of its annoying him, and, by setting it on fire in different places, he hoped to get the inhabitants to betray it, or to oblige the garrison to give it up. But the soldiers drove the inhabitants from the town, and, when the houses were on fire, broke into them for plunder, instead of extinguishing the flames. Ginkell, therefore, removed his batteries to a station opposite to the English town, but upon his own side of the river, from whence he could annoy both towns at once*.

In ten days more, both towns were almost laid in ashes, and the works of the English town next to the batteries almost destroyed. But Ginkell, having received intelligence, that, even although he should pass the river on that side, wet fosses would be found between it and the town, but that the works which guarded Thomond-bridge were not so strong as he had been made at first to believe, he resolved to pass the river, attack these works, and by commanding Thomond-bridge to block up the enemy from all supplies of provisions. In order to conceal his design, he feigned an intention to raise a siege, which his master had been forced to do two years before; and, to carry on the deception, he dismounted his heavy cannon, and evacuated some of his works. The besieged gave way to their joy, by loud and repeated insults and shouts†. Upon the approach of night, he moved a part of his army as if he had been flying: But, when it grew dark, he turned suddenly to the river, a mile above the town, employed workmen during the night to throw a bridge of pontoons across, and began to pass before he was discovered. The enemies cavalry guarded the passage, but their horses were allowed to graze during the

Sept. 16.

* Story, 2.

† Gazette, July 24.

night;

night; and, as it was day-break when he passed, the horses had not been taken from grass; so that the cavalry made only a faint opposition.

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After this, he spent some days in providing security for his former stations, now weakened by the division of the army, and in forming communications between the two sides of the river; and then made an attack upon the works which commanded Thomond-bridge. He carried them successively in a few hours, and pushed on for the bridge. The Irish fled along it: The English pursued behind: But the officer on guard, who was a Frenchman, apprehensive that both might enter the town together, ordered the draw-bridge to be raised, and, by this means, exposed the garrison of the works, consisting of a thousand men, to the swords of their enemies and the waves of the Shannon. Almost all perished; and the English made a lodgment within ten yards of the bridge*.

The action of the French officer irritated the Irish to the highest degree: They exclaimed, "That the French, instead of acting the part of allies, were their most merciless enemies!" The French officers were alarmed by these complaints: And both parties, jealous of each other, concurred in a desire to capitulate. The proposal was made next day, and the terms soon adjusted: For Ginkell † had orders to end the war upon any conditions. It was agreed, that all the Irish then in Ireland, in the service of James, should be pardoned; that their estates and effects should be restored, and their attainders and outlawries reversed; that none of them should be liable to actions of debt for deeds done by them in the course of the war; and that all those who inclined to go to France, should be landed there with their effects at the expence of

Divisions in
the garrison.

The town
surrenders.
Terms of
capitulation.

* Gazette, October 5. † Letter from the Lords Justices to Lord Nottingham, May 29, in the paper-office.

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14,000 Irish
transported
to France.

the English government. These articles* came from Ginkell himself. No less than 14,000 men took advantage of the last of them, quitting, with a savage fury and joy, their native land, and consenting to become for ever the subjects of a foreign power. A few days after the capitulation, a French fleet of 18 ships of the line, with 30,000 arms, and with stores of provisions and ammunition, arrived upon the coast, embittering, by the sight of assistance, the reflection in the minds of those to whom it was brought, that, by their mutual jealousies and impatience, it was now become useless. Ginkell was honoured with the titles of Lord Agrim and Earl of Athlone, and Rouvigney with that of Lord Gallway, in commemoration of their services, and of the places in which they had performed them. But the officers and soldiers remarked with displeasure, that no notice was taken of Talmaish and M'Kay, because they were not foreigners. They were the more displeased too, because, in the list of the King's generals for the ensuing year, they found that eleven out of sixteen were foreigners†. Immediately after the capitulation of Limerick, the Irish war was declared at an end. And then only, at last, William became master of his three kingdoms.

Differences
in opinion
about the
capitulation.

The capitulation of Limerick was scarcely signed when it became the universal subject of dispute. The loyal part of the Irish, attentive to particular interest and passion, complained‡, “ That while they were ruined for their
“ attachment to government, their enemies had been
“ helped to carry off their plunder with impunity, had
“ been pardoned, treated with honour, and even protected
“ against the common course of justice, for the crimes

* Gazette, October 8. Story, 2. 231.

† Journ. house of com. Nov. 28, 1691.

‡ Correspondence of the Lords Justices with Lord Nottingham, in the paper-office.

“ they

“ they had committed.” In England, general interests were taken into the view. People reasoned: “ The example of all history shewed, that the most desperate enemies were exiles turning their arms against their countrymen, partly to remove all suspicion of their fidelity from those foreigners for whom they combated, and partly because they were prompted by the two strongest passions in human nature, sense of injuries, and desire of recovering the interests which they had lost. The communication of so many thousand individuals with their friends and relations in Ireland, would for ever continue the connection of that country with France.” But men, who considered the state of Ireland at the time, and as it appeared immediately after, did justice to the necessity to which the King yielded. They remarked: “ From the disorders of war*, no grain had been sown in a great part of the lands of Ireland: And, according to the custom of that country, the Irish † had carried all their cattle along with their army, which were long ago destroyed. The number of French privateers at sea, the necessity of pressing for seamen at Bristol, and the rigour of ships of war in search of prohibited goods ‡, had long prevented the English or Scotch merchants from sending provisions to Ireland. Upon these accounts, had the Irish troops remained in their own country, they must either have perished in silent misery, or have armed themselves with despair against human kind. The French fleet, which had arrived upon the coast, almost whilst the articles of capitulation were signing, would not only have destroyed the English squadron in the Shannon, and relieved Limerick, but have blown up the civil war of Ireland anew; and the war in that country had already

* Story, 2. 196. et passim.

† Ibid. 2. p. 146.

‡ Letter 6th February 1691-2 from the Lords Justices to Lord Nottingham, in the paper office, and other letters there.

PART II. " cost the lives of 100,000 British subjects, the ruin of
 BOOK VI. " three times that number, and ten millions of money*.
 1691. " Cromwell, whose circumstances were not so difficult
 " as the King's, had not scrupled, in order to get free of
 " his enemies, to transport 40,000 Irish from their own
 " country, to fill all the armies of Europe with com-
 " plaints of his cruelty, and admiration of their valour.
 " Perhaps some pity too was due to men who had been
 " exposed to forfeiture and death by the Irish parliament,
 " unless they took side against King William; and by
 " the English parliament, if they did." Measures which
 the King was obliged immediately to take, discovered the
 judgment of those who reasoned in this manner. For,
 from the want of provisions † in Ireland, he was forced
 to allow some thousands of the Irish army to go into the
 service of the Emperor, to take multitudes of them into
 the English troops, to send the Danes to their own coun-
 try almost as soon as the Irish had quitted theirs, and to
 carry almost all his regiments to England, as fast as
 transports could be got for them ‡.

Campaigns
 on the con-
 tinent inde-
 cative.

While these decisive events were passing in Ireland, the summer was spent in the rest of Europe, in actions between the confederates and French, which were of little consequence: For Louis XIV. conscious of the superiority of his enemies numbers, and convinced that observance of the rules of union seldom lasts long among confederates, had resolved, by lying upon the defensive, to let the cloud pass over him. His army pierced into Piedmont before the Germans could arrive to defend it: But,

* Story, 2. p. 313.

† Ibid. and Gazette.

‡ The miseries of Ireland from want of provisions, and the weak state of the King's affairs from the want of every thing, is strongly painted in the correspondence of Lord Gallway, and of the Lords Justices, with Lord Nottingham, in the paper-office. Many of the circumstances, related in the account which I have given of this campaign, are taken from the same correspondence.

when they came, it retired. The German and French armies were equal upon the Rhine, and avoided mutual injury from mutual awe. In Flanders William forced Marshal Boufflers to raise the bombardment of Liege: And, on the other hand, when he quitted his army at the end of the campaign, the French defeated one part of it on its march to Cambron, but deserted the victory when they saw the other come up to dispute it. They acted the same defensive part at sea; Admiral Russel attempting often, but in vain, to bring them to an action. These were all the returns which the English received, for the four millions they had given to bring the war to an end.

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But William, presuming upon the satisfaction which the reduction of Ireland gave to his English subjects, demanded, in his speech at the opening of the parliament which he assembled at the end of the campaign, a fleet equal to that of last summer, and 65,000 land forces, for the service of the ensuing year, although he was now disburthened altogether of the Irish war. The sudden and open manner of the demand prevented the concerts of opposition. Answers were given by both houses which implied their acquiescence; and, after some disputes and some delays, the supplies, which amounted to three millions and a half, were granted. The rest of the session was spent in some struggles between the houses, concerning the interest of their respective orders in trials for treason; in the best business of parliament, inquiries into the abuses of employment and service*; and in those attempts to procure popular laws, which, by a peculiar circumstance in the English constitution, pave the way for the favourites of the people to force themselves into the service of the crown, and for others to take their places in promoting the same public services for the same private

The parliament given vast supplies.

* Journ. h. of com. and Ralph, anno 1691.

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ends. But most of these attempts were disappointed in the house of lords, from the fear of popular innovations. One of them was indeed checked by the King himself: A bill passed both houses, to make the salaries and offices of the judges for life. But the King, even at this great era of liberty, refused his assent, leaving room for a succeeding monarch to give unasked, to the wishes of his people, what William refused to their prayers*.

The King
goes to Hol-
land.

William adjourned the parliament in February, in order to go to Holland, in his way to the army: But, before he went, he made more alterations at court in favour of the Tories; and, among others, brought Lord Rochester, and Sir Edward Seymour, into the privy council, two persons who, beyond all others, had opposed his elevation to the throne.

Massacre of
Glenco du-
ring the
winter.

During this winter, an incident happened in Scotland, which inflamed almost all that country against the new government. This incident is commonly known by the name of *The massacre of Glenco*. Upon the discovery of the first conspiracy, in the spring of the year 1690, Lord Tarbet, to show his sense of the King's mercy, had suggested a project of prevailing upon the attainted highland clans, to lay down those arms which they had taken up under Lord Dundee, and which they had never since intirely quitted†: And Lord Breadalbane, who had probably concerted the project with him, offered to carry it into execution. Breadalbane's offers had been the more readily accepted by government, because it was known he had more credit with the highlanders than any man in

Breadal-
bane's
treaties with
the high-
landers.

* In the beginning of the present reign, his Majesty desired, that the offices of the judges might be made for life, and it was done.

† General M'Kay's MS. correspondence with King William and Lord Portland. MS. correspondence between Lord Stair and Lord Breadalbane and relative papers.

Scotland, and because there were surmises at the time of a French invasion upon that country. But the project took not place, because Sir Thomas Livingstone soon after gained some advantages over the highlanders; and because, hearing that the invasion was to reach no farther than England, they remained quiet in their own country in the summer, in order to save themselves from the incursions of the troops during that season. But winter was no sooner come, than they recommenced their hostilities. Upon this, Lord Breadalbane renewed the offer of his service, and sent a scheme for settling the highlands; to Sir John Dalrymple, secretary of state, who was then attending his master in Flanders. The scheme was, that a pardon, and 12,000*l.* should be given to the highlanders in arms, most of which money was to be applied to discharge the claims of the Earl of Argyle * upon their estates; and that pensions should be given to all the highland chieftains in Scotland, under a condition of their holding 4000 of their people disciplined for war, and ready at a call to serve at home or abroad: A plan of much wisdom, and by which, had it been carried into execution, the rebellions in the years 1715 and 1745 might have been prevented, with the five hundredth part of the expence which it cost the English nation to subdue them. Sir John Dalrymple readily adopted it, and laid it before the King, who sent for Lord Breadalbane to Flanders to adjust the terms. Breadalbane returned into Scotland, and brought the treaty with the attainted highlanders near to a conclusion †: A proclamation was published in the autumn of the year 1691, which declared, that all rebels, who took the oaths to the government before the first of January ensuing, should be pardoned.

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* MS. correspondence between Lord Stair and Lord Breadalbane.

† Records of Scottish privy-council, August 8, 16, 27, 1691.

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Disappoint-
ed by the
Duke of
Hamilton.

The Duke of Hamilton, in the mean time, either from envy against Lord Breadalbane and Sir John Dalrymple, or because he believed he could make better terms for his master, sent emissaries into the highlands, to prevent the conclusion of the treaty. The highland chieftains played a double game*: They wrote to the late King for his permission to make a treaty, promising to him, that they would observe it no longer than it was for his interest: And, at the same time, to create jealousies in William of his servants, and amongst his servants themselves, they gave information to the Duke of Hamilton, and to the enemies of Lord Breadalbane, Lord Stair, and his son, that Breadalbane had concurred with them in the terms upon which they had asked James's consent to the treaty. Upon this, accusations were presented to the privy-council and the parliament, and sent to the King against Breadalbane. General M'Kay †, blown up with the honour which he had acquired in his own profession in Ireland, wrote letters underhand to the King and Lord Portland, against Lord Breadalbane and Sir John Dalrymple, most of which were communicated to the last of these persons. William, who was steady to those whom he trusted, received the accusations with disregard, saying, with his usual brevity, "Men who manage treaties, must give fair words ‡."

Breadal-
bane's
scheme of
revenge.

But Breadalbane retained deep in his mind the sense of the highlanders breach of faith, and of their injury to himself. He communicated his own passions to Sir John

* Manuscript correspondence between Lord Breadalbane and Lord Stair.

† General M'Kay's correspondence, and Lord Stair's, with Lord Breadalbane.

‡ One of the accusations against Lord Breadalbane was, that he had advised General Cannon to continue in the mountains, and to increase his army, before he went down to the low countries. When it was read to the King, he smiled, and said, "I am very glad Cannon did not take his advice."

Dalrymple :

Dalrymple : And the King, who had been long teased, and stopped in pursuits which he had more at heart, by the turmoils of Scotland, was himself irritated. A new scheme * was suggested by Lord Breadalbane, adopted by the secretary, and assented to by the King, for cutting off all the highland rebels, who should not take the oaths to the new government, within the time prescribed by the proclamation. The mode of the execution was intended to be, by what was called in Scotland, " Letters of fire and sword : " An inhuman, but a legal weapon, in the law of that country, against attainted rebels. The order was sent down to the privy-council, which, without remonstrating against it, appointed a committee to carry it into execution † ; and ordered money, a ship, and other military preparations for that purpose. The Lords Breadalbane, Tarbet, and Argyle ‡, had privately agreed to give their assistance, if necessary. The King's troops ¶ were properly posted. The Marquis of Athole, who, by means of General M'Kay §, had for some time been paying court to the new government, had ¶ an hundred men ready. And there is reason to believe, that some of those Lords were flattered with the prospect of part of the rebels estates. It is probable, that some of the privy-council gave warning to the rebels of their danger. For all the attainted chieftains, with their people **, took the oaths before the time prefixed, except one. That one was M'Donald of Glenco.

PART II.
BOOK VI.

1691.

* Manuscript correspondence between Lord Stair and Lord Breadalbane. In one of Lord Stair's letters to Lord Breadalbane, he calls it, " Your mauing scheme."

† Records of Scottish privy-council, January 16, 19, 1691-2.

‡ Manuscript Correspondence between Lord Breadalbane and Lord Stair, and relative papers.

¶ Records of Scottish privy-council, 16th January.

§ General M'Kay's manuscript correspondence with Lord Portland.

¶ Records of Scottish privy council, 19th January.

** Gazette, January 14.

Glenco,

PART II.
BOOK VI.

1691.

Glenco, with all his clan, was peculiarly obnoxious to Lord Breadalbane, because there had been frequent wars between their people. And Sir John Dalrymple thought that mercy would be thrown away upon them, because they had been in the irreclaimable habit of making incursions into the low-countries for plunder, and because he had himself obtained a pardon for them from King William, when one of the tribe having discovered his accomplices in a crime, the rest had tied him to a tree, and every man of the tribe had stabbed him with a durk, Glenco the chieftain giving the first blow.

Glenco went, upon the last day of December, to Fort-William, and desired the oaths to be tendered to him by the governor of that fortress. But, as that officer was not a civil magistrate, he refused to administer the oaths. Glenco then went to Inverary, the county-town, to take them before the sheriff of the county; but, by bad weather, was prevented from reaching it, until a few days after the term prescribed by the proclamation was elapsed. The sheriff scrupled at first, but was prevailed upon at last to receive his allegiance. Advantage was taken of Glenco's not having complied literally with the terms of the proclamation; and a warrant for proceeding to execution was procured from the King, which was signed both above and below with his own hand.

Execution
of it.

This warrant was executed with many circumstances of extreme rigour. Sir John Dalrymple gave orders, that the execution should be effectual, and without any previous warning. For this purpose, in the month of February, two companies went, not as enemies, but as friends, to take quarters in the valley of Glenco, where all the clan lived; a valley famous in the traditions of highlanders, for the residence of Fingal, and which, by an odd coincidence, signifies, in the Celtic language, "The valley of tears." To conceal the intention the better,

better, the soldiers were of their own lineage, highlanders of Lord Argyle's regiment; and the commanding officer, Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, was uncle to the wife of one of Glenco's sons. All were received with the rude but kind hospitality of the country. They continued in the valley near a fortnight; and then in the night-time, rose to butcher their hosts. Captain Campbell had supped and played at cards with Glenco's family the evening before. Thirty-eight men were slain. The rest would have shared the same fate, had not the alarm been given by one of Glenco's sons, who overheard one of the soldiers say to another, "He liked not the work: " He feared not to fight the Macdonalds in the field, but " had scarcely courage to kill them in their sleep: But " their officers were answerable for the deed, not they." This execution made the deeper impression, because the King would not permit any of those who were concerned in it to be punished, conscious that in their cause his own was involved.

PART II.
BOOK VI.

1694.

William had many enemies in Scotland upon another account. 'The abolition of prelacy had provoked most of the higher ranks in that country *. And Lord Crawford, a bigotted presbyterian, who for some time after the revolution was president of the council, had, by ejecting the episcopal clergy, with many circumstances of severity †, added fuel to the flame. William made after-

Severities
against the
episcopal
clergy.

* The person who persuaded King William to settle presbytery in Scotland was Carstairs. The two arguments he used were, 1st, That the presbyterians were in general whigs; and 2dly, That his protesting presbytery in Scotland would, without giving the alarm to the church in England, shew the dissenters of that country what they might expect from him, when he should have it in his power to serve them. The Reverend Mr. M'Cormack, in whose hands Carstairs's papers are, gave me the heads of his discourse to King William, the freedom of which does equal honour to him who spoke and to him who listened to it.

† Burnet, 29. 64. 87.—Gazette, August 3, 1689. General M'Kay's MS. correspondence, and records of Scottish privy council.

wards

PART II.
BOOK VI.

1691.

wards some advances to the episcopal party. But these, without gaining them, lost him many of the presbyterians. These last even ventured to sit in the general assembly, notwithstanding the King's adjournment, and the King was glad to accept of an affected apology that his will had not been properly intimated to them *. So that Scotland was ripe for any mischief.

* Letter Secretary Stair to Duke of Hamilton, 13th February 1691.

A P P E N D I X

T O

P A R T II. B O O K VI.

Marquis of Caermarthen to King William.—Sad state of Ireland.—Offers to go lord-lieutenant general there.—Discontents of people with government.—In King William's box.

S I R,

London, Feb. 20th, 1698.

I CAN say nothing of matters here, but what your Majesty is informed of at large by my Lord Sydney; but your affairs in Ireland seem to me to be in so ill a posture, and so likely to be worse rather than better (unless some other course be taken than is now), and it is so certain that your business in the next parliament will go better or worse according to your success the next summer there; that I presume to give your Majesty my opinion of the necessity of your sending somebody thither as lord lieutenant, with the accustomed powers of that place, whose quality, as well as authority, may give a countenance to his actings, and may make him be more willingly obeyed than these lords justices are or will be.

I confess the cure is difficult, because your Majesty has no English subject who is fitly qualified for the employment (and yet you can employ no other); but I do truly believe your affairs would do better in an indifferent hand

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of

of such quality, assisted with good counsellors, and some good military assistants (although those were foreigners), than they can do by any commission of justices, as the present state of things are in that kingdom.

Now as I am of this opinion, so I think my Lord Shrewsbury, my Lord Chesterfield, my Lord Pembroke, my Lord Moulgrave, or my Lord Godolphin, are capable of doing your Majesty this service, if your Majesty should approve any of them, and that they would undertake it. Nay, so absolutely necessary I think it is that something of this kind should be done, that rather than it should not, I do offer myself to your Majesty for that service, although I am less fit than any of those I have named.—Your Majesty will easily believe that, my circumstances considered, I should not have named myself, but that I would rather perish in endeavouring to save this government, than live to perish with it, which (as infirm as I am) I may probably do, if Ireland should cost another year's war. Another reason why I offer myself is, because I think it yet to be prevented by an industrious care, and such provision made for it as is within your Majesty's power.—What would certainly prevent this danger is your Majesty's going thither in person: but I fear your other affairs (being wanted every where) will not permit you to do it this year; and no more time must be lost (the year being so far advanced) in fixing your resolutions about this matter; but if your Majesty should approve of this method, your orders must be immediately sent to whoever you shall employ in that service.

I beseech your Majesty to take this affair of Ireland thoroughly into your consideration, being what the whole prosperity of your government depends upon in these kingdoms; and forgive me for telling your Majesty so bold a truth as it is, that men's affections to the government do apparently decrease amongst all parties; and nothing but

but a more vigorous conduct of affairs can retrieve it, the effects of which must appear this next summer, either at sea, or in Ireland, or both; and a miscarriage in either will be probably fatal to the chief commanders (how innocent soever they be) and deeply prejudicial to your Majesty.

Although I have writ all this to your Majesty as my own opinion, I find it to be also the opinion of all the thinking men that I converse with, and it is such a daily discourse (even amongst us who are of the committee for Irish affairs) how impossible it is for things to succeed in Ireland under the present conduct of them, that I believe it to be the reason why we can so seldom get a number sufficient to make a committee, of which my Lord Sydney and I are always two, and commonly Sir Hen. Goodrick the third; (but which is yet worse) if any others do chance to come, they seem to act like pyoneers, for pay, rather than by inclination. If your Majesty shall think all this impertinent, I hope you will take no notice it was ever writ, but forgive, &c.

Lord Caermarthen to King William.—Complains of Mr. Hampden.—In King William's box.

S I R,

27th Feb. 1697.

I AM glad I have but little to trouble your Majesty withall from hence, all things going on very well as to the fleet, which is our principal concern. The city loane also, of 200,000 *l.* (which we were sent to borrow), is in a good forwardness, notwithstanding the discouragement given them by Mr. Hampden in parliament, who there said, that those had lent your Majesty least who had lent you most upon former loanes; but the common council did only take notice of it, with a declaration that it should not hinder this loane, and that they would not

for the future be obliged to pay their money to the chamberlaine of the city, but that every one would lend in what manner they pleased, and did desire to have a list out of the chamberlaine's books, who had been the former lenders upon each fund, and what sums every man had lent; to which my Lord Maior gave them no answer.

As to the affairs of Ireland, your Majesty will have received a large pacquett by the last post, from the lords justices and lieutenant generals. Ginkle and we are doing all we can to send over oats and other provisions; but all credit being lost, and nothing to be bought but with ready money, the want of that delays things very much; and I find that your Majesty's clothing of the army yourself will turn but to an ill account to your Majesty, as well as to the soldiers, both being much abused as it is now done.

Part of Lord Sydney's letter to King William.—Account of council.—In the Cabinet.

Feb. 27, 1697.

LORD President hath been of late very peevish, and continually complaining; I am now his confident, and he hath almost told me that he would retire in a very little time. My Lord Marlborough behaves himself much better than he did at first after your Majesty's going away; he is now pretty diligent, and seldom fails the committees. My Lord Godolphin comes not often, but he hath a good excuse for it, which is the treasury.

Lord Godolphin to King William.—Lord Godolphin's opinion of Lord Danby.—In the Cabinet.

March 20, 1697.

I TAKE it for granted that your Majesty, unless you were obliged to do it by law, would never chuse out the Earl of Danby, of all England, to fill that officer's place, thro' whose hands all your own revenue, all the public money of the kingdom, and all the accompts of both the one and the other, are to pass; and for these reasons, if the case does happen, I shall think it my duty to refuse to admit him (as far as it depends of me) till the right of the patent be determined, unless your Majesty should be pleased to signify your pleasure, that you would give the place to him, tho' there were no patent in the case; which, I confess, I think you would no more do than you would make him a bishop.

Part of a letter from the Marquis of Caermarthen to K. William.—Complains of the opposing party.—In the Cabinet.

22d May 1691.

WHILST your Majesty is contriving schemes how to save us, and exposing your person for us, some are no less busy here in drawing their schemes to put all things in disorder when a parliament shall meet, and their principal designs are to lessen your power and increase their own; insomuch that without such a success as will be valued here, it is already apparent that our condition will be very deplorable: but I hope the same providence which hath conducted your Majesty through so many great actions, will help you to surmount all difficulties, and make you as happy and great as is most truly wisht by, Sir, &c.

Lord

*Lord Sidney to King William about the second conspiracy.—
Pen's confession.—In the Cabinet.*

S I R,

Feb. the 27th, 1697.

ABOUT ten days ago, Mr. Pen sent his brother-in-law, Mr. Lowther, to me, to let me know that he would be very glad to see me, if I would give him leave, and promise him to let him return without being molested; I sent him word I would, if the queen would permit it: he then desired me not to mention it to any body but the queen; I said I would not; a Monday he sent to me to know what time I would appoint; I named Wednesday in the evening, and accordingly I went to the place at the time, where I found him just as he used to be, not at all disguised, but in the same cloaths and the same humour I formerly have seen him in: it would be too long for your Majesty to read a full account of all our discourse, but in short it was this, that he was a true and a faithful servant to King William and Queen Mary, and if he knew any thing that was prejudicial to them or their government, he would readily discover it; he protested in the presence of God that he knew of no plot, nor did he believe there was any one in Europe, but what King Lewis hath laid, and he was of opinion that King James knew the bottom of this plot as little as other people: he saith, he knows your Majesty hath a great many enemies; and some that came over with you, and some that joined you soon after your arrival, he was sure, were more inveterate against you, and more dangerous than the Jacobites, for he saith there is not one man amongst them that hath common understanding. To the letters that were found with my Lord Preston, and the paper of the conference,

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he would not give any positive answer, but said if he could have the honour to see the King, and that he would be pleased to believe the sincerity of what he saith, and pardon the ingenuity of what he confessed, he would freely tell every thing he knew of himself, and other things that would be much for his Majesty's service and interest to know, but if he cannot obtain this favour he must be obliged to quit the kingdom; which he is very unwilling to do. He saith he might have gone away twenty times if he had pleased, but he is so confident of giving your Majesty satisfaction if you would hear him, that he was resolved to expect your return before he took any sort of measures. What he intends to do, is all he can do for your service, for he can't be a witness if he would, it being, as he saith, against his conscience and his principles to take an oath. This is the sum of our conference, and I am sure your Majesty will judge as you ought to do of it, without any of my reflections.

Part of the Marquis of Caermarthen's letter to King William, on the same subject.—Lord Preston's confession.—Political use to be made of it.—In the Cabinet.

3 Feb. 1697.

MY Lord Preston hath, since his last paper, made some addition to his confession, though not very considerable; viz. that Sir Edward Seymour told him that King James was betrayed by James Porter, and that Lord Nottingham had said a peace would be made with France exclusive of King James. That Lord Weymouth was with him, together with Sir Edward Seymour, and that both of them knew of his going into France. That Lord Annendale and Sir James Montgomery had been at his house in their way to Scotland, where they spoke very discontentedly against your government.

That he met Neale Paine in his way to Scotland, who told him he had commissions for divers persons in that kingdom from King James. The said Paine told him that Ferguson had his pardon, and managed things for them at London; and that Wildman was a well-wisher to their cause. That Duke Hamilton had his pardon, and Lord Argyle was their friend; and I think said he had his pardon, but I am not certain, having not yet seen his last confession in writing. This being what my Lord has said already, and that perhaps he may yet recollect more, I submit to your Majesty whether it may not be more for the service to continue him (as he now is) till further order, without any reprieve, till the meeting of parliament; where his declaration of these matters will break the teeth not only of Sir Edward Seymour, but of that whole party, from doing your business any harm in parliament. It will also be an ingredient to put a parliament into an humour for your service. It will also shew the designs intended in Scotland, and Paine's negotiations there; and you may reserve what part of that matter you shall think fit.

He is also the only witness both against my Lord Clarendon, the bishop of Ely, and Pen, whereas by his execution you disappoint all these ends: and in my opinion it will not be to your Majesty's disadvantage, if you should think fit to shew your clemency, rather than draw any more blood on this occasion.

Lord Nottingham to King William.—Crone and Lord Preston's confession.—Opinion of judges taken.—Political use to be made of the confessions.—In the Cabinet.

MR. Crone has made oath of the truth of all that is contained in the papers of which I lately sent copies to my Lord Sydney: and Mr. Attorney has made his report of

of what persons are accused by my Lord Preston or Crone, and of the nature of their several crimes, which is high treason in all, except my Lord Halifax, whose offence is only misprision.

Against the Earl of Clarendon, Mr. Grahme, and Mr. Pen, there are two witnesses, which are sufficient in law to convict them; but against the Lady Dorchester, the Lord Dartmouth, Layton, Lawton, and the Bishop of Ely, there is but one witness, which is not sufficient to convict them of treason, no more than my Lord Halifax of misprision; but Mr. Attorney added, that they might nevertheless be prosecuted for misdemeanor, which last is a point of so great importance, being never known before the case of Mr. Hampden in the late reign, that the queen thought fit, by the advice of the committee, to require the opinion of all the judges upon it; and this morning my Lord Chief Justice acquainted her Majesty, that four judges (of which himself was one) were positive in their opinion, that a person accused by one witness only of high treason, could not be indicted for it as a misdemeanor; two judges' more, though doubtful, inclined to the same opinion; one was altogether doubtful; and the other three declared themselves in the affirmative: hereupon her Majesty does not think it advisable to revive a method of prosecution which in the late reign was look'd upon as odious, though the then judges called it legal. Since therefore they cannot be proceeded against for treason for want of another witness, nor for misdemeanor because their crime is treason or misprision; the next consideration was, whether they should be seized and committed: this is not a question of law, for 'tis clear they may, but of prudence: and the committee inclines, for the present at least, 'tis better not to do it; because 'tis certain they cannot be brought to a trial; and after some time, and an ineffectual attempt to bring them to

it, they will be discharged; and none of the considerable persons, except the Bishop of Ely, are running away, or like to do so, and therefore may at any time be arrested, and so will be, if any such misfortune should happen to your Majesty's armies or fleet as might encourage an insurrection: but if your Majesty thinks it more useful to the service to have all or any of them seized, your orders shall be immediately obeyed: but I beg leave to offer one thing to your Majesty's consideration, which I have mentioned to the queen only, and it is, that probably some of these may design to obstruct and disturb your affairs in parliament; but this they will not dare to do while they are under apprehensions of being prosecuted themselves, which they will no longer be after they have been confined, and find there is no matter or no proof against them; and since people do expect to see great fruits of my Lord Preston's discovery, they will be very much disappointed to see it reduced to so narrow a compass, and that so little can be done upon it; and for this reason it may perhaps be better to keep it secret a little longer, and this may also keep others in awe who know themselves, though we do not know them, to be guilty.

As for Grahme and Pen, against whom there are two witnesses, Mr. Attorney has orders to prosecute them to an outlawry, by which they will be attainted; and though the late Bishop of Ely be accused by one only, yet there being some material circumstances against him, and it being likely that he will not dare to appear, he will undergo the like process too.

But the committee thinks it will be best to delay the trial of my Lord Clarendon, not only for what I humbly offered to your Majesty in my last, but because there past a vote in the House of Lords, that a peer cannot be tried out of parliament, which, though it be illegal, and can never be supported in the matter or form of making it, yet
may

may probably influence many lords, who were zealous for this vote, to decline attendance at his trial, which would be very prejudicial to your service: and this may prove an occasion of reversing this vote, which will be more useful than the present prosecution of the Earl of Clarendon.

Whitehall, June 26, 91.

Part of a letter from the Marquis of Caermarthen to King William.—More of the conspiracy.—In the Cabinet.

11th Sept. 1691:

I SUPPOSE my Lord Nottingham gives your Majesty an account of some intercepted letters, which shew what tampering there is betwixt some Scotchmen and some English for promoting the late King's interest, by which it is to be seen that some men are not to be made honest by obligations.

Sir Robert Howard to King William.—A sudden attack to be made in parliament upon his prerogative.—In the Cabinet.

May it please your Majesty,

IT has been a great affliction to mee, that by soe long a fitt of the gout I have been hinder'd from waitinge on your Majesty; but while I live, the affection and duty I have to your person and government, shall never faill of their attendance, whenever any occasion requires it.

That which now happens to be the cause of givinge your Majesty this trouble I have communicated to my Lord Godolphin, with whose approbation and opinion I humbly present it, and to whom I have committed this, to be safely convey'd to your Majesty.

The businesse (which I have received from very good intelligence by particular friends of mine) is a design carry'd on by a very great party, that the war both by sea and land should be managed by a committee of parliament, and this intelligence seems to be made good by the manner of the proceedings of the commissioners for accounts, who act for unlimited, and in many things exceeding their power, that it seems plainly to be a method in order to such a design; and as formerly an abjuration of any other power has been refused, this seems an abjuration of your Majestys.

I am likewise informed, that the same parties will make all the strength they can to oppose the giving of excises, and this present parliament has appeared very refractory in that matter, without which 'twill be very difficult to carry on the war, or to discharge the debts in peace.

I humbly submit it to your Majesty's consideration, whether a new parliament may not be a prevention of such designs, and probably proceed sooner to the businesse of money than this, where the contrivance is already lay'd for many things to precede the giving of it.

I hope I need not beg your Majesty's pardon for this presumption, since you have been ever pleas'd for graciously to receive the testimonys of the sincere duty and service of, &c.

July the last, 1691.

Secretary Stair to the Duke of Hamilton.—Respectful to the Duke, yet insinuating the suspicions entertained of him.—In the Duke of Hamilton's possession.

London, May 30, 1689.

May it please your Grace,

I Humbly acknowledge the honour of your second ; the letter from the committee gives no satisfaction here. It is understood that your Grace did moderate the forwardness of some in the convention ; but the very proposals insinuate diffidence in the king's management. The consequences of mistakes at this time, when our deliverance is not perfected, may be fatal. These sent here, seeing the king is determined, have looked about for a balance in our government, and to take their own shares. I do not believe it in the power of your Grace's enemies, or malice itself, to prevail with the king to neglect the services you have done, and are capable to render him. I confess it's hard to receive instructions at second hand, but I should be heartily sorry, both upon the account of the publick, and your Grace's interest, if any thing should induce you to mar so fair a work ; it might justify the surmises your Grace points at, and gratify those who insinuate your Grace had more regard to yourself than the publick, should you stop upon the resentment that you have not been advised in the disposal of the publick offices or trusts. This session cannot be long ; the King and the world must be sensible, that none besides your Grace can bring this session to a happy and peaceable conclusion, upon which very much depends : for my father he lives in the country very abstract, and yet I see some still retain their humour against him. For myself I have taken occasion to signify very little. But I

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am sure I did not fail to avouch the sense I had of the great service your Grace hath done to the crown and your country, in the convention, and how well you did acquit yourself there. I cannot doubt, when your Grace attends the King, all your concerns will be adjusted to your satisfaction, which shall be welcome to none more than to, &c.

Secretary Stair to the Duke of Hamilton.—The King's sentiments of toleration in Scotland.—In the Duke of Hamilton's possession.

Hague, Feb. 13, O. S. 1697.

May it please your Grace,

I HAVE sent the doubles of two letters from his Majesty for your Grace's use. We were at first surpris'd here, when the notice came, that the commission of the general assembly did sit during his Majesty's absence, and that they had deposed five ministers at the first down-sitting. Now we do understand that the King's pleasure anent their adjournment was not intimated to them, so they cannot be blamed for their disobedience; but I wish they may consider for the future what they must see to be the King's sentiments, that they do unite with such of those who formerly served under episcopacy and are worthy to be retained in the ministry.

Part of the Marquis of Caermarthen's letter to King William.—Lord Caermarthen's sentiments on the same subject.—In the Cabinet.

27 Feb. 1697.

I HOPE your Majesty has true informations of things from Scotland, and if you have, I doubt not but you will give speedy directions to put a stop to the giddy proceedings

ceedings of the commissioners of the assembly against all the episcopal clergy of Scotland at one blow ; who are to be turned out of doors with their families, unless they will renounce prelacy, to which they are sworn, so that they are not to keep their livings unless they will preserve them by perjury.

I have given my Lord Sidney a memorial, which I have received from two Scots ministers who were sent to your Majesty by a great number of the episcopal clergy, but they came here after your departure, by which your Majesty will see, that the commissioners were to begin their progress the first of March, guarded with two troops of horse ; but they cannot be gone so far in their work, before your Majesty's orders may reach them, but if you please they may be ordered not to proceed further in that matter till your Majesty's pleasure be known ; and truly I believe that the speedy doing of this may be of no less consequence than the preventing a rebellion, and at a time when nothing but the folly of clergymen would have put it to a venture.

Secretary Stair to the Duke of Hamilton.—Apology for his behaviour to the Duke in the convention parliament.—In the Duke of Hamilton's possession.

London, Jan. 13, 1691.

May it please your Grace,

MEN are oftentimes carried by their circumstances beyond their intentions or interest. It's undeniable I have both received and given your Grace cause of resentment and complaint. As I frankly forgive whatever I got of that nature, so I humbly ask your Grace's pardon for what injurys I have offered you, which never went beyond words. I do believe it on your Grace's part, and I dare say for myself, these were not the effect of malice

or

or design, but sudden emotions arising from the different apprehensions of the ends or methods we did then pursue; and the office of King's Advocate did oblige me to challenge every body without distinction, that had not our word.

Lord Drumlanrig to King William.—The state of Scotland.—Great heats.—Complains of the King's ministers.—In the Cabinet.

S I R,

TO have written sooner to your Majesty, had been with less certainty, and therefore I delayed it till now. I have taken pains to discover the condition of your Majesty's affairs here, whereof in so far as I can learn I shall now give a just account. I find this country mightily divided, not so much for or against your Majesty's interest and government, as about the methods of serving you, and the persons employed therein: for the first, the too precipitant and hard procedure against the clergy has disoblged very many, and the misery those men so turned out are under, increases their compassion for them, and thereby their dislike at those who they look upon as the authors of it: besides this, the government is not in very good hands, they being generally men who never before were in business, and the weakness both for interest and parts of most of them, lessens their authority, so that, it's thought, what trouble your Majesty meets with from this kingdom, is in a great measure to be ascribed to their mismanagement; when I have the honour to wait upon your Majesty, I shall be more particular about this and other things, if you think fit to command me. The club, as it's called here, are extremely diligent, and seem very confident to carry the plurality in this parliament; your Majesty's commissioner and those with him, seem

not to be out of hopes to carry what their instructions bear, only I can assure your Majesty if they do, it will be with struggling. I have spoke fully to my father in your Majesty's concerns; and to be impartial and free with your Majesty, whose interest I prefer to all things in the world, I must tell you, that I find him much disobliged, thinking himself under the feet of those in the government; he uses greater reserve with me now than formerly, the reason of which I will make bold to acquaint your Majesty with, when I have the honour to kiss your hand: by what I can understand, he is not yet determined whether to go to the parliament or not; but if he goes, I am afraid he will differ with your commissioner and his party, about the model they have put your affairs in here; he protests to me that it's out of respect to your Majesty, and concern for your service, makes him do so; however, I will appeal to your Majesty's commissioner to bear witness for me how much I have laboured to beget a good understanding between him and those you are pleased to entrust at this time, that your affairs at present suffer not by their differences; but all is like to prove ineffectual, which makes me wish to be gone from this place. I have not seen any of your Majesty's forces here, except those in this town; they are not well cloathed, and do promise very little; I am told the rest are all of a piece. The Danish troops which I saw in their way to Ireland, are well mounted and in good order. Forgive, sir, this trouble; I presume rather upon your pardon for it, than be wanting in my duty to contribute all in my power for your information at this distance. I am, with all duty and respect, &c.

Edr, March 29, 1690.

*Lord Melville to King William.—On the same subject.—
Great heats.—Complaints of the opposers of the ministers.
[In the cabinet.]*

20 March, 1690.

May it please your Majesty,

IN obedience to your Majesty's commands in your letters wherewith you honoured me, I called a council yesterday, where your Majesty's letter for the adjournment of the parl. was read, and a proclamation ordered for adjournment until the 15th of April; there were but few contrary votes, Yester was not in council, nor the Earls of Annandale, Dundonald, Lord Rofs, Sir James Montgomery and one or two more; the council was very full: this adjournment hath occasioned a great consternation; and such who are not desirous of a settlement, endeavour to make a very bad improvement of it, and to abuse the people; at first they represented me as the author of the adjournment, and that it was concerted before I came from London. When they see that would not take with rational men, they now would lay it at my Lord Stair's door, at whom the great spear runs, not so much from reason, as out of pike and humour; but I wish he were so wise as willingly to lay himself aside, though this would not satisfy some; but there seems an infatuation upon people, for we are neither thankfull for mercies, nor sensible of our danger, as we ought.

I question not but your Majesty has had very weighty and good reasons that moved you to this adjournment, and I partly see them. But I was very hopeful, and on very probable grounds, I had carried your affairs in parliament if it had sit, to your Majesty's satisfaction, notwithstanding all the endeavours and big talk to the contrary: what effects this prorogation may have, I cannot yet give your Majesty any account; but shall be laying myself

myself out to the uttermost, to prevent the inconveniencies like to follow upon this emergent; for some ill-minded men have been at great pains to inflame the country, and those most affectionate to your service, and to misrepresent your Majesty to them, under the worst characters, and to persuade them that all the favours pretended and offered to them was but a sham; that there was never a design the parl. should sit, &c. and now they make use of this adjournment as a confirmation of what they formerly asserted or suggested. This poor country is at present in the most confused and distracted condition that a nation can be in, not actually to be all in war. The Jacobites, as they call them, are very numerous and barefaced; the presbyterians, as they are termed (at least the common people of that sort, who are not fit judges to distinguish betwixt realities and fair and specious pretences), are alarmed, and abused by false reports and running insinuations, by men who love to fish in troubled waters, and are but making tools of them to serve their own designs: there is an army without pay, the country poor and grumbling, and yet in the opinion of all who wish well to your Majesty's service, there is an inevitable danger of disbanding it at this time and without pay, even though they be not so well appointed as were to be wished: Lieut. Gen. Douglass professes to be fully of this opinion, and not to be satisfied with his brother the Duke Q. so does his son, and often said they can say nothing for him, so I shall say nothing concerning him. He is desirous now to confer with my eldest son. What passes, or shall be the result, I shall acquaint your Majesty with. I see well enough the designs of both the dukes and of some of the ring-leaders of the club, who are in some concert, as also of their being so likewise with some of the Jacobites who have heretofore shown themselves dissatisfied to your Majesty's government; and severals of them who stood

out formerly, were come to attend the parl. and resolved to swallow the oaths, as I am informed, out of no good design. It's in your Majesty's power, not so much in mine, to frustrate their designs; but in my humble opinion, it were fit you should make both the dukes know you are not satisfied with their carriage as to your service, nor that you will not be forced to make use of men against your will. I shall forbear to insist on this head, least I should be thought partial. I have sent some additional instructions to be superscribed and subsigned by your Majesty, as also a letter for the parliament at it's opening; and if you think fit, two letters to the two dukes: but this I leave altogether to yourself. If your Majesty thinks it any ways convenient, you may cause my son transcribe them; the others would be hastened against the down-fitting of the parliament. Though I dare not propose it, yet I think it were very useful to your Majesty's service to let this regiment of Danes horse stay in this country, and take more of ours in lieu of them to Ireland, for it's scarce to be imagined the bad condition this poor kingdom is in at present, for many seems to be infatuate. I humbly beg your Majesty's excuse for this confused and bad writing, having but little time; and wish you all health and prosperity.

Edinburgh, 20 March,
at 3 in the morning.

Lord Melville to King William.—Great heats.—Presses the King for presbytery. [In King William's box.]

May it please your Majesty, 27 April 1691.

THERE was never a nation, or people I believe, more infatuate than we seem to be at present; the Jacobites, being joined with the club, have brought in all their

their strength to the parl. except a very few ; some three or four noblemen yet scruple the oaths. If they had done this last year in the convention, the throne might have been yet to declare vacant, as to K. Ja. Whether they will be able to out vote us or not, I know not, but hopes not ; but they gained ground by the adjournments, which I know your Majesty did on weighty considerations, though it had bad effects here. There was but one vote past in the house yesterday, and your friends carried by a great many ; it's true three or four of the club went along when they see it going. I touch't the act 1689, rescinding the act 1669, concerning the supremacy ; by this time, however it may be misrepresented (which I lay my account with), your Majesty loses nothing which I am confident you would desire : the reasons which forced me to give the royal assent to those two votes past a day or two sooner than your Majesty mentioned was, because, if it had been delayed, it had given the opposite party great advantage, and we had loosed many of our own, and would have encreased the jealousies of the people to that height, that it might have been difficult, if not impossible, to retrieve : All the wit and malice of men, I may say of hell, seems to be set at work to do mischief, and with letting things go on too long, by reason of your Majesty's affairs in England, and my being restrained for a time, the combination is become strong, that I do not think it safe at present to follow these methods which otherwise might have been fit and convenient ; not so much that I fear their strength in itself, though the party be numerous, but because, by lies and forgeries, they had much abused the people. Duke Hamilton was the first proposer and presser, that this act concerning the supremacy should be touched ; he also was the first proposer, that an act might be brought in for liberty of speech. I shall make no inferences on this, but I like not
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the smell of it; and yet to stop it, will make a great noise in England.

I am persuaded of a correspondence betwixt some here of different parties, and some in England; and it's not only expectation from Ireland and France, but that intelligence which helps to keep up people in opposition to your Majesty's interest, and settling of the country.

I am sorry for the limitation your Majesty gives, on your own account, and not out of bigotry; but I shall endeavour to observe what your Majesty commands. I am straitened how to find a way to make a breach upon another head rather than this, for this would do your Majesty an irreparable prejudice, and give your enemies an extraordinary advantage; so I leave it to your Majesty's serious consideration what to do in it: for my part, I see no remedy, if your Majesty do not speedily satisfy your people, but all must go in confusion. Sir, I know I am in hazard to be extremely misrepresented in giving this advice, and that if I did not serve the best master in the world, I might ruin myself by doing it, especially if any thing displeasing should follow it; but I speak my true sentiments as to what I think your Majesty's interest, abstracting from all parties and persuasions as in the sight of God Almighty. You know I use not to be so; but I am very positive in this, if all the statesmen in Britain should be of another sentiment, that it is truly your Majesty's interest at this time not to displease the people on this head as to their church government; for nothing else can satisfy. I am displeased enough with many of that profession, and they are prejudging themselves; but your Majesty need not apprehend, what I find, by Mr. Carstairs, you do. You have enough in your hand to restrain all exorbitancies; the affair is mightily misrepresented in the world, and but by few understood. I am, notwithstanding of all this, as little for the pragmatism of churchmen

men as any man in Britain. I think they often need 'a bridle: I look upon their work as relating to the souls of their people; that they are to use persuasion and no coercion: it's in the magistrate's power, notwithstanding their general assemblies be granted them, to keep them within their bounds; and it is the better for themselves they be so. I might say enough to clear further this, and take off what Tarbat, Sir George Mackenzie, and several others, often say in this affair; but it's most prejudice and bias moves them. But I weary your Majesty, and I am not to justify churchmen's miscarriages. You brought two from Holland, one of one persuasion, and one of another, has done more mischief than thousands: but I say this only, though there were greater ground to apprehend prejudice than there is, it seems altogether necessary to give way to it at this time if the people press it, even though your Majesty were inclined to alter all. If the country were once come to a settlement; men will change in many things. I beg ten thousand pardons for this presumption, but the weightiness of the affair presses me; for to lose the people whom you can only confide in, when you have none to trust beside, were of very dangerous consequence.

Remark.] The two clergymen here meant were Burnet and Ferguson; Carstairs was the friend of Lord Melville.

Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards Earl of Marchmont, to King William.—Presses him to settle moderate presbytery. [In King William's box.]

S I R,

THE happy victory got over your Ma. enemies in the north upon the 1st of May last, and the advantages we had this day in the house, have so animated friends,

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and

and so damped enemies and violent or irritated spirits, that the first are almost freed from fears, confiding in God and in the comfort and support which they expect from your Ma. yet our opposits are so pertinacious in their mischievous pains, that now they busie themselves in spreading reports, upon pretended accounts from England, that your Ma. will not settle the church government here, being apprehensive of the power of generall assemblies, but will put a long adjournment upon the parl. There is no way in the world so apt to make the multitude best affected to your Ma. to startle, as this is: therefor whatever may be suggested to your Ma. about that matter, I shall here lay before you both what is intended, and what I doubt not shall be got accomplished, if your Ma. allow this parl. which is now so well fixed to your interest, to continue sitting and acting: 1^o, The design in the church settlement is, that no generall assembly have any power legislative over the liedges, this being solely in the hands of the King and parl. but that their power shall only extend in the way of judicature to judging and sentencing those of their own communion, in reference to doctrine and discipline, and their sentences to take no civil effect either against one's person or goods; only to debar, or at most cut off from their church communion: 2^o, That the King have power to call generall assemblies upon emergent occasions, if he think fitt; and that in generall assemblies, whether called by the King, or conveyed by authority of the church, the King, if he so please, may have his commissioner to sitt with them, to see to their diligent and orderly deportment and procedure: 3^o, That all sort of persecution upon church differences be prevented and secured against: If these things be provided for in the church settlement, it is hardly possible that the government in the church keeping within these bounds, can ever clash or interfere with the civill policy and government

ment of the nation ; I am perswaded your Ma. needs not, upon any such jealousie, delay to finish the establishing that forme so much desired by your good people, and which will so unite their hearts to your service : Indeed, if your Ma. affaires there necessarily require a delay of those things here, it is a misfortune for which I am heartily sorry ; but if it be inevitable, I beseech your Ma. to let your commissioner know it timeously, and I wish my selfe also to know it, that according as may be possible, the best may be made of it, which I am affraid may be bad enough ; but the utmost endeavours shall not be wanting to fitt and accommodate all the requisites of your Ma. affaires there or here.

Edinbourg, 8 May, 1690.

Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards Earl of Marchmont, to King William.—State of parties in Scotland. [In King William's box.]

S I R,

I Conceave it necessary to lay before your Ma. what I do evidently discerne in your affairs here, and of the pretenders to your service. The house of parlement divides in two parties ; the one is made up of about 52 of these called addressers, and 43 others that joined not in that address, in all about 95, who go one way with your Ma. commissioner in what concerns your service and the publick good : the other party is made up of about 20 of the addressers and 46 others, who are esteemed the favorers of the late king, in all about 66. In reality all these, to the exception of a few, not exceeding 20 at most, are such as either have too great kindness for the late king, or too little for your Ma. and the country. There are among these some men able and crafty, who leave no means untryed to run this kingdom in confusion, which has given good men much labour to coun-

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terworke :

terworke : they have prevailed with almost all the Jacobites to come in to the parliament, and to swallow down the oath of allegiance, that they may be capable to mar what is designed for your Ma. interest. The whole pack, whatever is in their hearts, pretend to be the patrons of the kingdom's liberties, and beyond others zealous for the presbyterial government in this church ; they would have your Ma. commissioner, and these who go along with him, believed to be reconciled to prelacy and to arbitrary government also, provided it be put in your Ma. hands : While we labour for a true and moderate presbytery, consistent with the civil government, they call that a mincing, and cry up that which, by the acknowledgment of all moderate men, had deborded unto great excesses, as the government in the purest times, as the best curb to the exorbitancies of monarchy that can be : while we plead for maintaining and paying the army, they say grievances must be first redressed. In the mean time, your Ma. may guess by whose means rumors are spread, that there is no intention of settling the church, of redressing any grievances, but when money is got to dissolve this parliament. These things have put us in great difficulties. Indeed your Ma. commissioner and many others have been at much pains, and by the jealousies raised by that party, in much difficulty till now, that the giving the royal assent to the act rescinding the ecclesiastic supremacy, and to that restoring the ousted ministers, which the Jacobite party pressed earnestly, thinking it would not be granted, has much satisfied the people, and removed the jealousy as to the church government. I cannot think but all your Ma. affairs will carry strongly here, if you are pleased to trust your commissioner, who is as cordially concerned as I think any man can be for your Ma. interest, with instructions and trust ample enough for occasions that may fall in. I must say he takes my

opinion stuch in all things; I hope your Ma. service shall not fare the worse; he can tell your Ma. what part I have acted; I will say nothing of that, but shall study to be as good as my word to your Ma.

Edinburgh,
25 April, 1690.

Lord Tarbat, afterwards Earl of Cromarty, to King William—on the state of parties in Scotland. [In King William's box.]

I NEED not tell how unexpected successe your Majestie's commissioner hath had hitherto in this parl. it hath astonished those who were opposite to your Maj. service, and yett I cannot say that they have given over there designs, for he hath as great difficulty to retaine those he gained, as in the gaining of them at first; for these presbiterians are so bigotted and hott in there humor, as that no midle thing will please them: his first stepp was of necessity to touch the act rescinding the act of supremacy 1669, or to losse a great number, who had weell neare joined the clubb, on his demurring on it for a day. That of rescinding the articles, was the next condition of there adherence. And by these hitherto he hath not only caried the plurality by many, contrare to a confidence in his opponents, but also he hath discouradged, divided, and brought over severalls of the other side. But, Sir, untill he establish presbitry to a great hight, he cannot affirm them as sure to your Majestie's service; for his adversares are incessantly raising jealousies in them, as if this were not designed; and if it be not, it's like they will cary over him what is yett to be done for your Maj. service; and I am apprehensive they will likewise have the patronages of churches taken away.

It's true, Sir, these are great concessions; but as matters are now stated, there may be exceeding danger in disobliging them; for what course so violent a people may take is not easily foreseen; and some who in that case will lead and influence them, are, I fear, of no principle sufficient to regulat ether there ambition or malice; and if once these hott people be stirred, they are with ease driven to excesses and extravagances, tho' to there owne ruine.

And at the samne time the Jacobines are not only numerous, but very much increased; and will not misse to make use of these dissatisfactions in the presbiterian party to hurt your Maj. interest. So your Maj. may be pleased to weigh the inconvenience of haveing the major part of the parl. as yett to goe off from your commiss. and the evils that will follow on that, whilst yow have no other party assured to yow, wherby yow will gett none or little money to pay your army; the course that the discontented will take is uncertaine; and your Maj. enimies will be incouraged and strengthened; with the evils on the other side, by quitting perhaps necessare prerogatives of the crowne, and giving too loose reins to a clergy, both which may be retrieved, when your Maj. great effaires are in better circumstances, and when yow get a considerable part of the powerfull nobility and gentry of this nation to joine cordially in your interests; and it is not to be doubted, but that the commiss. will grant as litle as is possible, without losseing them; and he is now endeavouring to bring over such noblemen and gentlemen as will give any probable assurance of fidelity to your Maj. tho' hitherto they have shewed too indiscreet dissatisfaction, tho' they deny it to be from any attachment to K. James, which a litle tyme will more discover. In this I am imploying my self, for except to be in parliam^t. when alleadgance was given to your Maj. I have not been in it, both because the lesse I appeare with the comm.

comm. the more it pleases severals of the hotter heads; and also because I nether could concurr in the rescinding of the supremacy or articles, nor will I concur in establishing the designd presbitry, nor takeing away of patronages, as I told your Maj. when I had the honour to wait on yow, and as yow then allowed me, tho' I heare some of my good friends wold even in this misrepresent me. But I feare no malice, since I rest confident in your Majestie's favour to me, and my fidelity to your Majesty and your royall interest.

Sir, I doubt if the commiss. can tell definitely what he could have your warrand for, the humors he hath to do with, is so uncertaine; so that a latitude is necessarie for him, if you doe not resolve to have the parl. rise in dissatisfaction, which at this tyme, and when your Maj. hath so little assurance of the other side, were ane advice that no faithfull man dare give.

I find the D. of Queensberry, E. Lithgow, E. Balcares, B. Broadalbin, and severall others, much changed to the better; and some of them have this day employed me to indeavour an understanding betwixt the comm. and them: he is cautious, and on good grounds, for there are many of the weaker people who now joine, and make his number in parliam^t. who would desert him, if they thought he would associat with wicked us: but he hath allowed me to try it quietly; and as their ingenuity appears, so he will move: but if on the one hand he cary the parliam^t. and on the other he bring off severall considerable perones, both from the Jacobines and clubb, I will adventure to say, he hath served your Maj. above what was possible for any other to doe (that I know) in our present state.

Edinb.

13 May, 1690.

Lord Basil Hamilton to his father.—The duke has taken offence because not made chancellor.—Warns him against differing with Secretary Stair. [In the Duke of Hamilton's possession.]

London, 12 Dec. 1691.

I DOUBT not but you have heard of great changes that were made in the Scotch affairs, and particularly that there was to be a chancellor. I took occasion to speak to the king upon it, and told him that I heard he was going to make such alterations in his affairs in Scotland, which would put your Grace out of all condition of serving him any longer in the government, if it was true that I heard of his going to make a chancellor. He told me he had taken no such resolution, nor was resolved yet upon any thing; and upon some things that I was saying to him of ill offices that some people did your Grace, he thought I meant the Secretary Staires, and told me he had always found him very much your friend. I answered that I was sure that the difference betwixt you did his Majesty's interest no good; and for my part, I would always do what lay in my power towards it. I cannot believe but you wrong that man extremely. I shall not pretend to know much of Scotch affairs, but I cannot see by all I can perceive here, that there is any body in the government you would have had better quarter with than him. I believe his credit here, as yet, is as great as any body's, though I hear that Tarbat gains ground every day. To tell your Grace the truth of all the parties that are here, I find very few that do not their endeavours to make a government without your Grace. You know the proverb, Out of sight out of mind. I shall strive to give your Grace an account by the next post of what is the king's thoughts as to your particular. In the mean time I wish your Grace
would

would not exclaim at present, nor be so violent against Staires and his son.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the Duke of Hamilton, on the same subject. [In the Duke of Hamilton's possession.]

London, 19th Dec. 1691.

THE Master of Stairs complains extremely that your Grace should be so much, upon all occasions, doing of him all the ill offices lies in your power. I know not if I be imposed on by him, but I am sure he has convinced me, that he has done your Grace no ill offices to deserve your anger; and that Tweedle's being chancellor is none of his making, if it should be so.

Ditto to ditto—to the same purpose. [Ditto.]

10 April 1692.

I FIND Mr. Carstairs is much for your Grace's not quitting the government for all that is done, and he says he is very sure that things will come to your hand; but he having spoke to you himself, I need not say any thing more of it, nor do I know really how to say any thing to your Grace about it, for I am as sensible as is possible of the hard measures you meet with; but I am sure that all that your enemies desire is, that you should retire—that they may say, you do it to countenance the discontented party of the country, and that you have always been an opposer to all kings, and will ever be so. I do not say this, that it has been said from any body to me, nor have I heard any thing of that nature; only I am afraid that, if you do retire, it will be the construction your enemies will put upon it.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the Duke his father.—Has defended the Duke against suspicions. [In the Duke of Hamilton's possession.]

SINCE my last from Breda, I have seen Mr. Carstairs, who told me he would write to your Grace; he says that your enemies begin already to say, that the reason why you are so abstract from business, was that you would not meddle till you see the effect of this campaign. I told him that could but show malice, and not do you hurt with any reasonable body, for you had dipped your fingers too deep in the pye, to begin to juggle now; besides, it is not your humour.

Brussels, 19 May 1692.

Mr. Fletcher of Salton's spirited letter to the Duke of Hamilton.—Presses him to forget his own injuries, and defend his country. [Ditto.]

Edinburgh, 29th of April 1692.

May it please your Grace,

I KNOW you will be surprised to receive a letter from me; but my writing to you in such an exigence shows the high esteem I must have of you; and of the true love you bear your religion and country. If, laying aside all other considerations, you do not come in presently, and assist in council, all things will go into confusion, and your presence there will easily retrieve all. The castle has been very near surpris'd, and an advertisement which secretary Johnston had from France, and wrote hither, has saved it. When things are any ways compos'd, you may return to your former measures, for I do approve of them. I do advise your Grace to the most honourable thing you can do; and without which your country must perish.

*Secretary Stair to the Duke of Hamilton.—Their animosities.
—Vindication of the treaty with the Highlanders. [In
the Duke of Hamilton's possession.]*

St. Gerard, Aug. 27, 1691.

May it please your Grace,

I HAD the honour to receive a letter from your Grace last post. It's needless to fall again into a subject which is out of the field; but I must say, where there is little confidence, mistakes easily arise; and really I believe I had been as little hasty as your Grace, though I cannot but observe, what hints were at me. But they have not hit, and I am not haunted with resentment.

I have sent your Grace a copy of the concessions to the Highlanders: the application of the money is by buying in from my Lord Argyll, and from Mackintosh, those lands and superiorities which have been the occasion of trouble in the Highlands these many years. When your Grace does consider, that the expence comes not from us, that the apprehensions of danger were great when it was begun, and that the king could not refuse, with the ease we may have of two or three regiments which we cannot pay, and that the French may be the more earnest to get a footing in Britain, that they are likely to lose Ireland, I hope your Grace will find the settlement not so ill, nor so ill turned, as to be either dishonourable to the king, or useless to the country, at this juncture. I wish the affairs of our kirk were as well settled, and then I shall hope for some quiet to our poor country.

In King William's box there are letters from Lord Tarbet to the king, concerning the execution intended against the Highlanders if they should not take the oaths. In one of them to the king, without a date, but appearing to be written in the year 1691, Lord Tarbet tells him, that the last Highland campaign had cost 150,000*l.*; that it would not be the work of two or three years to force the Highlanders to peace; and gives an account of the measures taken to treat with them. In another, also without date, but written about the same time, he gives a farther account of negotiations with the Highlanders, and adds, "Colonel Hill informed my Lord Commissioner and me frequently of these proceedings; but the Major General was then near, to be in readiness for a Highland expedition, and he was not for capitulation, since he doubted not to reduce them by force; and the Earl of Argyll was against such condescensions as would prejudice or lessen his expectations; and several of your Majesty's counsellors did think it dishonour to treat with them; and all these concurred to think it better to root them out by war, than to give them any favour."

Secretary Stair to Lord Breadalbane.—Trusts in his conduct of the treaty with the Highlanders. [In Lord Breadalbane's possession.]

From the camp at Approbiach, June 1st, 1691.

My Lord,

I CAN say nothing to you, all things are as you wish, but I do long to hear from you. Do not trouble yourself with any discouragements you may see designed against

against you. By the King's letter to the council you will see he hath stopt all hostilities against the Highlanders, till he may hear from you, and that your time be elapsed without coming to some issue, which I do not apprehend; for there will come nothing to them. D. Berwick is here, and if it will not do, I am sure you will return quickly to give the account of the negotiation, to testify you have done your part, both for their Majesties interest, and for your friends: but if they will be mad, before Lammas they will repent it; for the army will be allowed to go into the Highlands, which some thirst so much for, and the frigates will attack them: but I have so much confidence of your conduct and capacity, to let them see the ground they stand on, that I think these suppositions are vain. I have sent you your instructions, My dear Lord, adieu.

Secretary Stair to the Earl of Breadalbane.—Presses him to conclude the treaty.—Suspensions of Lord Argyll's loyalty. [In Lord Breadalbane's possession.]

My Lord, Nancour, Aug. 24, O. S. 1691.

I HOPE this comes to your hands well at London, where I doubt not my Lady will soon dispatch you, that your journey in return do not fall in the winter. I came that same night I saw you last, to this place, and here understood you had passed this way. I did regret I had not so much more of your company. The more I do consider our affairs, I think it is the more necessary that your lordship do with all diligence post from thence, and that you write to the clans to meet you at Edinburgh, to save your trouble of going further: they have been for some time excluded from that place, so they are feind, and will be fond to come there. The sooner the king shall know of their anticipating the time for taking the in-

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demnity and oath of allegiance, it's the better for his resolutions, both in relation to the settling the civil government, and the ordering of the army. I join my entreaties with my lady's to you, to hast back as soon as you can, by the first of October. If you can see and fix Argyll, it would magnify you, though that cannot be required at your hands. I am sure you are able to make him sensible, considering what the king knows, that his part of the terms are very kind and advantageous; and it must make clear to the world his engagements elsewhere, if he does obstruct his own conveniency, and the king's service, in this settlement. I know it will need no more to satisfy all your people, but to see them; therefore, my dear Lord, let it be soon and short, that we may have you again. Farewell.

Secretary Stair to Lord Breadalbane, on his being accused of double-dealing in the treaty. [In Lord Breadalbane's possession.]

My Lord,

Loo, Sept. $\frac{1}{11}$, 1691.

I HAVE been vaguing these three last posts. I got yours from London, as soon as the charge given in against you, which is still with the secretary of England's baggage. So the king hath not seen the principal letter, but we have, and know the contents. No body believes your lordship capable of doing either a thing so base, or that you could believe there could be any secrets in your treaties, where there were so many ill eyes upon your proceedings; but the truth will always hold fast. The king is not soon shaken, and this attempt against you is so plain, that it will recommend and fasten you more in his favour, when the issue clears the sincerity of your part. And I hope it's not in any body's power to deprive you of the success to conclude that affair in the terms the king hath approved. But it will require more pains and dis-

patch. To return, the king will be over the beginning of October, and I hope to see you before it end; and I have heard there are endeavours using to make the Highlanders either own these base terms, as promised by your lordship, or else to declare their peaceableness did not proceed on your account, or for your negotiation, but because of the endeavours of others. I am not ready to believe these projects will have great effect. Let not any thing discourage you, but believe all these devices will tend to magnify your service, when you finish your undertaking. It's represented that the Highlanders do not intend to take the allegiance, but that they come down to the low-lands to debauch people and make parties, during the interval till the 1st of January, which is too long. I see what advantage will be made of this. But these who are not ready, or presently willing to take the oath, should keep at home in their own country, till they be going to take the oath: for it were not fair nor proper that any man who hath been in rebellion, should go to Edinburgh, and appear there and do what he pleases, till the first of January; and then to be uncertaine whether he will take the oath or not. The best cure of all these matters is, that the chieftains do take it as quickly as can be, which will take off the tricks or suspicions against the rest. I doubt not it will be minded that my Lord Argyll should not meddle with the garrisons of Mull, or that men should be desired to render upon the prospect of being prisoners, in case they take not the oaths: They should once be free, and have the time allowed to deliberate; but that space should not be used to insult the government, or to act against it in the mean time. I think you have brought this matter so good a length that I doubt not the rest, and then I believe the king will forgive bygone arrears of cess to these, so soon as he hears they are coming in frankly.

Secretary

Secretary Stair to Lord Breadalbane.—Difficulty in the treaty. [In Lord Breadalbane's possession.]

My Lord,

Dzeren, Sept. 18, 1691.

I HAD your's from London, signifying that you had not been then dispatched, for which I am very uneasy. I spoke immediately to the king, that without the money the Highlanders would never do; and there have been so many difficulties in the matter, that a resolution to do, especially in money-matters, would not satisfy. The king said they were not presently to receive it, which is true, but that he had ordered it to be delivered out of his treasury, so as they need not fear, in the least, performance; besides, the paper being signed by his Majesty's hand for such sums so to be employed, or the equivalent. There never was any body that could say the king had failed in his positive promises, and therefore I hope these people will not suffer themselves to be abused; nor will your lordship consider the retardments put in your way to hinder you to effectuate so good service both to your sovereign and country: they see all the rest that they fear depends very much upon the success of this, and I know I need not prompt your lordship to finish what upon many considerations is so necessary. There wants no endeavours to render you suspicious to the king, but he asked what proof there was for the information? and bid me tell you to go on in your business; the best evidence of sincerity was the bringing that matter quickly to a conclusion. We now would fain fancy the time is too long, and that it will be abused in the interim by these who intend not to take the allegiance, but to come down to debauch the low countries and insult the government. I wrote to you in my last, that they should keep at home till they are clear to take the benefit of the indemnity, in the

the terms proposed. I did expect the king's answer to the council might have determined that matter so, but there is yet no answer, nor will be this post; in which time I hope your lordship shall not only keep them from giving any offence, but bring them to take the allegiance, which they ought to do very chearfully; for their lives and fortunes they have from their Majesties. It will be about the tenth of October before the king be at London. By that time some will be wearied, and I hope others will be there about that time. I need not tell you how much it concerns you, both in your honour and interest, to get evidence you both have dealt sincerely, and are able, in despite of opposition, to conclude the Highland affair.

Secretary Stair to Lord Breadalbane.—Treaty breaking off.
[In Lord Breadalbane's possession.]

My Lord, London, Nov. 24, 1691.

NOT hearing from you so long after your conference the 10th past, I conclude things have not answered your expectation. Now I do believe our public matters shall be settled before we hear any thing from you of the success of your negotiation; perhaps they will be pretty right. I fancy more endeavours are tried to retard you, as if all did depend on your success. No, my Lord, you serve a prince not so hard as to consider nothing but success; nor not so little penetrating as not to observe it was not your want of faithfulness, but of others who did serve him, that hath delayed the conclusion of that affair. I must say your cousin Lochiel hath not been so wise as I thought him, not to mention gratitude; for truly, to gratify your relation, I did comply to let his share be more than was reasonable; there was no pleas betwixt him and Argyle to be bought in, and I well know he, nor Keppoch, nor Appin cannot lie one night safe in winter,

winter, for the garrison of Fort William. I doubt not Glengarry's house will be a better mid-garrison betwixt Inverness and Inverlochy, than ever he will a good subject to this government. I am glad it hath not failed on the king's side, for all his success; but I shall advise your lordship to keep up the remissions, and let them stand as fast as they please (though in this I have no peremptory command from the king). But I am satisfied that clan deserves no favour, and that having used you so, and slighted the grace offered, they are an easy and a proper object of his Majesty's severity and justice. This is only to advise you, that neither your own thanks nor the public settlement depends on them, and that you do not too far press or engage yourself; for I apprehend my next will be a command to sound the retreat, and leave these honest wife people to their own politics; for though nothing you have done will be retracted, conform to your orders, yet not one inch deserves to be added to these who could import no more, but their unwillingness, by their lingering. The fairest way to let this matter fall will be your returning to Edinburgh, or hither, except you do find your lordship fixed in a post in the government there. You will allow me to change with those circumstances, though never to you who I doubt not have done your part; but I wish you had written oftner. Since the ninth I had nothing from you.

Secretary Stair to Lord Breadalbane.—Preparations for execution. [In Lord Breadalbane's possession.]

My Lord,

London, Dec. 2, 1691.

I SHOULD be glad to find, before you get any positive order, that your business is done, for shortly we will conclude a resolution for the winter campaign. I do not fail to take notice of the frankness of your offer to assist.

I think

I think the clan Donell must be rooted out, and Lochiel. Leave the M'Leans to Argyll. But before this, Leven and Argyll's regiment, with two more, would have been gone to Flanders. Now all stops, and no more money from England to entertain them. God knows whether the 12,000*l.* sterling had been better employed to settle the Highlands, or to ravage them; but since we will make them desperate, I think we should root them out before they can get that help they depend upon. Their doing, after they get K. J. allowance, is worse than their obstinacy; for these who lay down arms at his command, will take them up by his warrant. Be assured no papist will be exempted from this oath of allegiance; and in Ireland they must take it by act of parliament now made, since the supremacy is out of it. You may assure yourself, in our settlement of government, you are not forgot by your friends, though I must tell you some are again emboldened, who had given over to object against your being assumed.

My dear Lord, adieu.

Secretary Stair to Lord Breadalbane.—Desires his mauling scheme. [In Lord Breadalbane's possession.]

My Lord,

London, Dec. 3, 1691.

BY the next I expect to hear either these people are come to your hand, or else your scheme for mauling them, for it will not delay. On the next week the officers will be dispatched from this, with instructions to garrison Invergarry, and Buchan's regiment will join Leven's, which will be force enough; they will have petards and some cannon. I am not changed as to the expediency of doing things by the easiest means, and at leisure; but the madness of these people, and their ungrate-

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fulness

fulness to you, makes me plainly see there is no reckoning on them; but *delenda est Carthago*. Yet who have accepted, and do take the oaths, will be safe, but deserve no kindness; and even in that case, there must be hostages of their nearest relations, for there is no regarding men's words whom their interest cannot oblige. Menzies, Glengarry, and all of them, have written letters and taken pains to make it believed, that all you did was for the interest of K. James. Therefore look on, and you shall be satisfied of your revenge. Adieu.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the Duke.—Execution is to proceed. [In Duke Hamilton's possession.]

London, 9th Jan. 1692.

I KNOW not if the news of the Highlanders taking the oaths will put a stop to the marching of the troops that were designed for that purpose, but I believe it will not; but that the orders for their campaign will still go on.

Proposals concerning the Highlanders by Lord Breadalbane.
[In Lord Breadalbane's possession.]

THE last opinion given to your Majesty, concerning the settling of the Highlanders, having had good success, by their submitting to your government, laying down arms, and taking the oath of allegiance; it remains now to propose to your Majesty how to make them useful and serviceable to you, and to take up arms for your Majesty in case of any insurrection at home, or invasion from abroad, or that your Majesty think it fit to use some of them in foreign parts.

1st, The law obliges the nation to rise in arms when required, and to continue in arms forty days.

2d, That

2d, That your Majesty, by virtue of this law, ordain all the Highland landlords and chieftains to have such a proportion of men ready as their estates and interest may easily raise and provide, without making the levy too heavy for them, which levy may be, according to the calculation made thereof, four thousand good and effective men.

3d, That these men, both officers and soldiers, be enrolled, and thereby ready to be called for when required. And to that end,

4th, That your Majesty give commission to some principal man in the Highlands, to have the charge of raising, enrolling, and bringing them to the field, and placing of fit inferior officers over them, according to the number that every tribe sends out.

5th, That this principal person have the pay of a general officer, but that only when he is employed, to defray his expence; who is to receive his orders from your Majesty, or your government, or from the commander in chief of your standing forces in that kingdom.

6th, That Lochzeal, in respect of his experience and skill, and his interest in the other clans besides his own, may have the next command over this militia, and have the pay of a colonel while he is employed, in regard he is ambitious to serve your Majesty, and is a protestant.

7th, That there be forty captains set over the four thousand, of such as every tribe may have one of their own to command them, and these to have a gratuity at their return home, after they are dismissed, as they behave themselves, and do keep their men in good discipline; and this gratuity to be bestowed by the advice of your Majesty's government, the commander in chief of your forces, and of the person who has the principal command of the Highlanders. That as soon as your Majesty settles

your government of that kingdom these two commissions be given, that they may immediately thereafter go about the enrolling of the men, according to the proportions to be charged by proclamation on every landlord and chieftain, to be ready when called for.

8th, As this establishment will encourage the Highlanders to be faithful and serve your Majesty, being commanded by persons of themselves, and in whom your Majesty may confide; so it will extremely discourage such as design to give disturbance to the peace of that kingdom, and to embarrass your government there, when they find that your Majesty has engaged a formidable force of Highlanders ready to fall on them, contrary to their expectation and endeavours of keeping them from coming in.

9th, Your Majesty has these forces without any charge, except for a few officers, and that only when employed, and that but for a short time, which will discuss any commotion can be in that nation; and it may be asserted, that there cannot be better militia men than they are.

10th, Your Majesty has not a fund in that kingdom, nor can have, to maintain above three thousand standing forces, which are so few, that it is a great encouragement for all ill designs, especially in your Majesty's absence. But this addition of four thousand Highlanders will alter the case exceedingly, will strengthen your government, encourage your standing forces, and disappoint your enemies: for they may be so ordered as to be ready to march on few days advertisement.

11th, It will be fit there be a major or two in constant pay, for attending and looking after these forces, and to serve as adjutants for raising, bringing them to the field, and to keep them from prejudicing the countries.

12th, That in pursuance of this diligence, and that the discontented disaffected parties in that kingdom may see that

that your Majesty will trust and employ the Highlanders, (if these force you to it) your Majesty will be pleased to dispatch Lochziel home, contented, and obliged to your Majesty's royal bounty: it is but a small sum he pretends, and your Majesty will find it very well bestowed.

13th, In case your Majesty, at any time, think it fit to employ a regiment of Highlanders abroad, they may be detached out of this body of men; and in that case, it is humbly offered to your Majesty, that they be allowed to use their own apparel, and their own arms, and to be disciplined in their own fashion, and to be commanded by persons having their language, and who have interest with them.

List of chieftains to which the proposals relate.

			Mer.
The Earl of Seafort,	-	-	200
The Viscount of Tarbat,	-	-	50
The Lord Lovitt,	-	-	150
The Earl of Sutherland,	-	-	100
The Lord Rhea,	-	-	50
The Laird of Ballingoun,	-	-	100
The Laird of Fouls,	-	-	50
The Laird of Straglassie,	-	-	20
The Laird of Glenmoriston,	-	-	30
The Laird of M'Intosh,	-	-	100
M'Pherson of Clunie,			
The Laird of Kilravock,	-	-	150
The Laird of Grant,	-	-	200
The Laird of Balmdaloch,	-	-	20
The Duke of Gordon,	-	-	300
The Earl of Mar,	-	-	200
The Marquis of Atholl,	-	-	300
The Laird of Ashintullie,	-	-	30
The Laird of Weem,	-	-	50
			The

A P P E N D I X.

			Men.
The Laird of Garntully,	-	-	50
The Laird of Strowan,	-	-	20
The Earl of Perth,	-	-	150
The Earl of Murray,	-	-	100
The Earl of Monteath,	-	-	100
The Marquis of Montrose,	-	-	150
The Laird of Lufs,	-	-	50
The Laird of Macfarlane,	-	-	30
The Earl of Argyle,	-	-	500
The Earl of Breadalbane,	-	-	250
The Laird of Calder,	-	-	100
The Laird of M'Lane,	-	-	100
The Laird of Locheal,	-	-	150
The Captane of Clanronald,	-	-	100
Sir Donald M'Donald, of Fleet,	-	-	100
The Laird of M'Leod,	-	-	100
The Laird of Glengary,	-	-	100
The Laird of M'Finzone,	-	-	30
M'Donald of Keppoch,	-	-	50
The Laird of Appine,	-	-	50
The Tutor of Appine,	-	-	30
The Laird of Lochbouy,	-	-	30

[There is a tradition, whether true or not I know not, that when Lord Nottingham afterwards wrote to Lord Breadalbane to account for the 12,000 *l.* which had been given him to be divided among the Highlanders, he answered the letter in these words: *My Lord, the Highlands are quiet: the money is spent: and this is the best way of accounting between friends.*]

B O O K VII.

CAUSES which incited Louis XIV. to a grand Invasion.

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—*Intrigues of James in the Court of England.*—*French Preparations.*—*James's Declaration.*—*Preparations in England and Holland.*—*Anxieties in England.*—*Admiral Russel's Correspondence with James.*—*William and James's Suspicions of those whom they employ.*—*The Princess disgraced.*—*Bad Fortune of the French Fleet, and good Fortune of the allied Fleets.*—*The Queen's Message to the Fleet.*—*The Fleets meet off La Hogue.*—*Operations of the 1st Day.*—*State of the Fleets during the Night.*—*Operations of the 2d Day.*—*Of the 3d and 4th Days.*—*Of the two last Days.*—*Unhappy Condition of James.*

THE year 1692 was signalized by events which are amongst the most important in the annals of England. The reduction of Ireland made the French sensible, too late, of their impolitic parsimony in losing a kingdom, the divisions of which could no longer be of use to them. The reflection that, instead of annoying others, as usual, they had themselves been obliged, by sea and by land, to lie last summer upon the defensive; the prospect that William, undistracted by Ireland, and supported by the great supplies which parliament had given

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given him, would employ his whole force against France, and even make that invasion upon her, which in a speech to parliament he had last winter insinuated he had in view; the consideration of the intrinsic weight of England in the scale of Europe, and of the dignity which the rank of King bestowed upon the Prince of Orange; all concurred to convince Louis XIV. that he could not venture too much upon the chance of dethroning King William; and determined his resolution to make one great effort for an invasion of England in favour of that Prince's rival.

Many circumstances presented themselves, which made his hopes of success in the attempt as fair, as the motives which impelled him to make it were cogent. Dissatisfactions were remarked in all parts of the three kingdoms; and these, among a people, who, under the right of being angry with government when they please, often seem so when they are not, appeared, in the eyes of foreigners, much greater than they were. The officers of the army, who are accustomed to complain of the want of preferment, because their complaints carry an implication of their merits, now imputed every disappointment to foreign influence; and being apt, from their manners, to take the lead in all conversation, and, from their want of occupation, to mingle in all companies, they spread their own discontents every where among others. In the fleet there was no room for the same jealousies, because there was not the same competition; yet many of the officers and seamen remembered, with regret, a master who had affected to be called "the seaman's friend." The loyal part of the Irish had become remiss in their zeal for government, because it had not complied with their passions; and the rest of that people were ready to forget the faith they had plighted, and the interests of their country, amidst their attachment to their party and their religion. The Scotch were in a phrenzy of rage, upon account of

What had lately passed in their country. In England, a great part of the whigs was blinded by resentment and envy; and the people in general were disgusted by the continuance of a war unattended with glory, and provoked by taxes which they thought they could not bear, only because they had never born them before. Yet, at this period of multiplied discontent, a singular state of party was exhibited: Almost all the tories stood firm to William; and of all others, the Lords Nottingham and Rochester, the most suspected, were the firmest.

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But James and the French King derived their chief hopes of success, from the intrigues which had been carried on within the verge of the court of England itself. In the end of the 1690, James had sent over into England Colonel Bulkley, whose daughter was married to the Duke of Berwick, and Colonel Sackville, who had been expelled from the house of commons, for ridiculing the popish plot. Their instructions were, to find out with certainty the sentiments of his former servants. Bulkley first sounded Lord Godolphin, but found him shy. He next applied himself to Lord Halifax, who was open and cordial, and who desired him to let Godolphin know his sentiments. Godolphin, who had always kept secretly on terms of respect with the Court of St. Germain, upon this application renewed his ancient connections, declared his repentance of those which he had formed with the new government, and, in testimony of it, offered, as soon as the King should return from the congress at the Hague, to quit the public service, in which he had been lately replaced as first lord of the treasury. He then asked leave from King William to resign, under pretence of bad health, and love of retirement. His request not being granted, he renewed it in a second letter, and shewed Bulkley that prince's answer, which intreated him not to take a step so prejudicial to their mutual interests. In the

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James in the
court of
England.

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mean time, Sackville had the same success with Lord Marlborough. The connections of that Lord with the Duke of Berwick, who was his nephew, and with Lord Tyrconnel, who was married to his wife's sister, together with the tenderness which he had continually expressed for the late King, and for those who suffered in his cause, had kept him always on decent terms with that prince's adherents. He was the first person who gave them the intelligence of William's intention to go to Ireland, and the chief person to give them timely warnings to provide for their safeties, whenever any warrant of the privy council, of which he was a member, was directed against them. Yet the great service he performed at Cork and Kingfale suspended the expectations which James had entertained from such beginnings. But, upon the arrival of Sackville, Lord Marlborough entered into engagements with him. Upon the 10th of January 1690-1,* he wrote a letter to James, in which he begged a line from himself, and another from the Queen, expressing their forgiveness of his offences: And, in the same letter, he assured James, that Lady Marlborough could bring the Princess Anne back to her duty. James gave him what he desired. Upon the 20th of May of that year, he wrote a second letter to James, in which he asked, that a power might be sent him to give promises of pardon in James's name, alleging, that Lord Caermarthen, Lord Shrewsbury, and others, stood off from distrust of forgiveness. This demand having been also complied with, Shrewsbury was brought to make an offer of his services to James: But Caermarthen acted a cautious part, neither giving nor refusing promises; because, in all probability*, he had

* This is very probable from some circumstances in the memoirs of Sir John Kersey, who was his particular friend.

resolved to observe a neutrality, in case James, with the assistance of French force, should return into England. Marlborough advised James to press Godolphin to continue in the service of King William, and to press Shrewsbury to enter into it a-new, that both might have it in their power the more effectually to serve their old master. A message was once brought, in Marlborough's name, which imported, that he would prevail upon the English troops in Flanders to revolt: But, when he was reminded to keep his promise, he answered, that the message had been misunderstood by the person who carried it. He also raised some expectations of bringing the army to revolt in England; but afterwards owned, that the thing was impossible, unless James was himself to appear: And then he pressed for an invasion of 20,000 men from France, with that prince at their head; often repeating, that all schemes of replacing him upon the throne, without a great army from France, were visionary. Captain Lloyd was the person who carried these letters and messages. Admiral Russel was about the same time drawn into the cabal, partly from ideas of getting better terms for the nation from a prince in exile, than he thought could be expected from one already upon the throne, and partly on account of neglects which he thought he had reason to complain of in King William*. Rear-Admiral Carter, with the sea officers Delaval and Killigrew, followed his example. And, in the end, the Princess Anne joined the same party; instigated by a resentment against the King and Queen, which she mistook for a return of duty to her father, and which was lately increased by the King's refusing to give a garter to Lord Marlborough, perhaps because asked in too high a tone by the Prince and Princess†.

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* Vide his letter to the King in the Appendix.

† Vide their letters to the King in the Appendix.

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To adjust the terms which James was to give to the nation, Lord Middleton was the person sent over to England; partly because he was nearly allied to Shrewsbury*, but more because in his office of secretary of state to James, both in England and France, he had been noted for advising his master to lenient measures. Some time was spent in adjusting the terms; because the whigs, and particularly Ruffel, contended for concession after concession, for the security of the constitution: Louis XIV. was once obliged to interpose, in order to overcome the reluctancies of James, suggesting, that, "if he was once upon his throne, he would find more complaisance from his subjects, than he was at present to expect." At length, all things were settled: And the French King got assurances, that the army would be directed by Marlborough, the fleet by Ruffel, and a great part of the church by the Princess Anne.

French preparations.

As it was known, that the Dutch and the English fleets never joined until the beginning of summer, it was concerted, that the invasion should be made in the middle of March; and, for this purpose, the French made their preparations early and suddenly. In the beginning of January, they began to equip one fleet at Toulon, and another at Brest, with several ships at Rochefort, and Port Lewis; and sent dispatches to all the other vessels of war within reach, to repair to the same ports. It was intended, that this whole force, when joined, should amount to 75 ships of the line. Soon after, they recalled all their privateers, and laid an embargo upon all their merchantmen, in order to man this fleet, and hired 300 transports for carrying the army. In the beginning of March, 20,000 men, of which one half were Irish, either formerly or lately transported into France,

* He was married to Shrewsbury's aunt.

marched

marched down to the coast of Normandy; and all their officers received orders to repair instantly to their posts. *Monf. D'Etrees* hastened to take the command of the fleet at Toulon, and *Monf. Tourville* of that at Brest; and both squadrons were ordered to join under the last of these officers*. Communications were settled with James's partizans in England: Two regiments of horse were privately prepared in the city; and eight of horse and foot, in the same manner, levied, and appointed, and armed in Lancashire. In Ireland † it was observed, that multitudes of the Roman catholics quitted their habitations, ran from province to province to hold consultations together, and were in continual fluctuation of action and spirits; certain indications, that they were preparing for some great design. In Scotland many new friends to James joined themselves to the old ones; and both waited with impatience to revenge the injuries which they pretended had been done to their country.

When the French preparations were near completed, James published a declaration, drawn by Lord Chief-Justice Herbert, in which he promised, that all ecclesiastical preferments should be confined to members of the church of England: But, with regard to securities for the liberties of the nation, his words, though fair, were general and indefinite. With a view to entice all men by the hopes of impunity, the declaration contained a general pardon with a very few exceptions. Lord Marlborough was, at his own desire, together with the Duke of Ormond, excepted from the pardon, the more effectually to conceal their secret connections. . But the Lords Godolphin, Hallifax, Shrewsbury, and Admiral Ruffel, took not the same precautions, because they had not the same depth of dissimulation.

James's declaration.

* Gazette. † Letter of the Lords Justices to Lord Nottingham, May 14, 1692, in the paper-office.

With

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Prepara-
tions in
England and
Holland.

With equal grandeur, preparations were made in England and Holland, to oppose the invasion. The first symptom of alarm in England appeared in the beginning of February, when a proclamation, surprising to free-men, was published, which ordered all the seamen of the nation *, to offer themselves to be enlisted, with threats of punishment if they did not. Immediately after, advice-boats were dispatched to all the scattered squadrons which were within reach, to repair home for the defence of their country; and others were stationed to cruize off the enemy's ports, and mark every motion they made. All the ships at home were equipped or repaired. Five new ones of the largest sizes were built, and with so much dispatch, that one of them of 106 guns went to sea the tenth day after she was launched †. Alarmed with the danger which threatened England, different Dutch squadrons were hastily got ready at Amsterdam, in the Maese, in North Holland, and in Zealand. The command of both navies was committed to Admiral Ruffel ‡.

In this way, during all the spring, the three greatest maritime powers of the world exerted every nerve of naval strength; and the rest of Europe stood amazed, and anxious to see the fate of an expedition, which was in all probability to determine in whose hands the dominion of the sea should be afterwards lodged.

James goes
to Norman-
dy, and
Louis to
Flanders.

But, notwithstanding all the efforts of the French, their fleets were not got ready in March as they expected; and therefore James did not set out from St. Germain for Normandy, until the 21st of April. A few days after he was gone, Louis left Versailles, to take upon him the command of his army in Flanders; secure, that, if the King of England sent his troops back

* Gazette, February 4. † Gazette, April 28. ‡ Gazette.

from

from thence to defend their own country, he must weaken his army, and if he did not, that he must leave his kingdom exposed. By a long and unusual course of adverse winds, James was detained four weeks upon the coast of Normandy.

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The length of this interval added the pains of anxiety to those of fear, which, upon the prospect of a foreign attack, are felt more in England than in other countries; because the English are less exposed to it, and have almost only one resource against it. Men derived terror even from the preparations which were made to remove it: For from the greatness of these, they inferred the greatness of their own danger. In this state of the minds of all, several regiments were recalled from Flanders; others, destined for that country, were ordered to stop on their march; the militia was raised all over the kingdom*; many suspected persons were secured, proclamations issued against others, and all papists removed ten miles from London: A camp was marked out between Petersfield and Portsmouth. Orders were given to drive the cattle fifteen miles up the country, upon the sight of a French fleet. Scotland was put into an unusual posture of defence; for the troops were incamped, the whole militia of the southern counties was raised, and the few of the highland chieftains, who were known to be loyal, were invested with powers almost dictatorial over the rest†. That country was suspected the more, because the Duke of Hamilton, irritated by the neglects he had met with from government, had ‡, since the beginning of January, retired to the country from his seat of president of the council; and all the persuasions of the English and Scottish ministers, and of his friend, Mr. Fletcher of Salton,

Anxieties in
England.

* Books of privy-council, May 5.
council, April 30, May 2. 5. 9. 13.

† Record of Scottish privy-
council, ‡ Ibid.

who,

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1692.

Admiral
Ruffel's cor-
respondence
with James.

who, though equally neglected, now rung in his ears the dangers of his country, could not bring him back*. Ireland alone was left to its own fate, because it was impossible to secure it†. And the meeting of parliament which had been appointed for May was postponed.

During this interval, Admiral Ruffel got time to renew his correspondence with James. He made two proposals to that prince, desiring him to make his choice between them. One was, that the invasion should be delayed until winter, and he promised, if that was complied with, that he would, in the intermediate space, dismiss several of his captains, and give their commands to officers who were better affected to James. The other was, if the intended invasion should proceed just now, that Ruffel would give an opportunity to the French fleet to sail for England, by employing his own in a disembarkation of troops upon the coast of France. In testimony of his sincerity in the last of these proposals‡, he applied in England for leave to make a descent at St. Maloes. But, in all his correspondence, he entreated James to prevent the two fleets from meeting, and gave warning, that, as he was an officer and an Englishman, he would fire upon the first French ship that he met, although he saw James upon the quarter-deck. Ruffel made use of the same interval of time, to complain of

* The Duke of Hamilton came next year into the service of the government; and it was chiefly owing to the persuasions of Mr. Fletcher.

† From the correspondence of the Lords Justices with Lord Nottingham in the paper-office, it appears, that a proclamation had been made, on the 4th of Feb. 1692, for the Irish to bring in their arms, with threats that those who did not, should lose the benefit of the capitulation of Limerick; but it was not obeyed: On the 14th of May, the militia was ordered to disarm the country: But the Lords Justices, in their letters, express great fears, lest the militia, under authority of this order, might plunder the country, and create new hostilities.

‡ Burchet.

that

that prince's breach of treaty, in neglecting, in his declaration, to make provision for the security of the freedom of the subject. To please him, another more explicit and more ample was prepared*.

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It is a singular circumstance, that, at this period, James distrusted the sincerity of the men on whose assurances he proceeded, and that William made use of the services of some, of whose insincerity he had intelligence. When James considered the justness of the informations with which Marlborough supplied him, he believed that Lord to be sincerely attached to him: But when he reflected upon the breach of his promises with regard to the revolt of the army, he suspected that he meant a second time to betray him. He sometimes believed that Russel's views were not so much directed to serve him, as, from republican principles, to degrade monarchy in his person: And, at other times, he suspected that Russel played a double game; if he missed the French fleet to plead merit with him, and if he met it, to secure the same advantage with his rival. His suspicions were increased by the conduct of the whigs; because, although their leaders were permitted to give him assurances from a great body of their friends, yet they were not left at liberty to give him a list of their names. Upon William's return from Holland, after the battle of La Hogue, he reproached † Lord Godolphin with the correspondence he carried on. Godolphin denied it: But the King put a letter into his hand, written by Godolphin to James, which had been stolen from that prince's cabinet, and desired him to reflect upon the treachery of those he was trusting, and the mercy that was shown him: William asked Lord Shrewsbury about the same time, "Why he

William
and James's
suspicions of
those whom
they employ.

* M'Pherson's state papers and King James's memoirs.

† I take this anecdote from report; but it is a report so universal, that I imagine nobody disbelieves it.

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“ had quitted his service ?” Shrewsbury answered, “ Be-
cause his measures had not corresponded with his pro-
mises to the nation.” The King looking steadfastly upon
him, said, “ My Lord; have you no other reason ?” The
other answered, “ He had not.” William then asked,
“ When he had last seen Sir James Montgomery ?”
Shrewsbury faltered, but recovering himself, said, “ He
could not help seeing people who called at his door,
but that his principles were loyal.” “ I know you to
be a man of honour,” replied the King, “ I will
believe what you say : But remember what you have
said, and that I trust to it :” And, without waiting for
an answer, quitted the room. It is likewise reported,
that at an after-period, when it was of consequence to
King William to make the world believe he had not
broke with the whig-party, he sent a colonel of the
guards to let Shrewsbury know, that he had orders either
to conduct him to the Tower, on account of his con-
nections with James, or to leave with him the secretary’s
seals *. Lord Marlborough was, indeed, first dismissed
from his employments, and afterwards sent to the Tower,
while the present invasion was depending ; but these pre-
cautions were necessary, because there was no medium
between putting it out of his power to do mischief, and
trusting the fate of the kingdom in his hands †. It is
reported,

* I found this anecdote in memoirs which the late Lord Balcarras shewed me, written by himself. He had it from Lord Bolingbroke, and the Field-Marshal Earl of Stair, whose Lady was aunt to Lord Balcarras.

† Sir John Fenwick, one of James’s Generals, whose confessions to King William were all true, used these words in his last speech : “ I do call Almighty God to witness, that I received the knowledge of what is contained in these papers, that I gave to a great man that came to me in the Tower, both from letters and messages that came from France ; and he told me, when I read them to him, that the Prince of Orange had been acquainted of most of these things before.”

King

reported, that, before his imprisonment, his Lady had discovered to her sister Lady Tyrconnel, a design for an attack upon Dunkirk, which had been communicated by the King, only to Lord Marlborough, and to two others; and that the King, when he reproached him, said *, “You have put more confidence in your wife, than I did in mine.” Yet, at an after-period, he restored Lord Marlborough to his rank, and employed him in great services, partly from that indulgence for recent prejudices, to which he yielded more than most of his subjects, and partly because he found his business done better by that Lord, than by any other person. There is great reason to believe, that Rear-Admiral Carter † received, at this time, orders from the Queen, to cultivate his connections with James, in order to discover the

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King William probably knew of the intrigues of Balkley, Lloyd, and Lord Middleton. For, in the books of the privy-council, May 3, 1692, there is a warrant to seize them. In the same books, 23d June of that year, the names of Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Marlborough, are struck out of the council-book. And the warrant for seizing Marlborough in the books, May 3, of that year, bears, “That he was charged with high-treason, and for abetting and adhering to their Majesties enemies.”

The last speech which King William made to parliament, contained these remarkable words: “I should think it as great a blessing as could befall England, if I could observe you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities, which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my subjects easy and safe as to any, even the *biggest* offences committed against me.”

The Dutches of Marlborough, in the account of her conduct published by her, imputes the imprisonment of her lord partly to the friendship of the Princess Anne for herself, and partly to the false accusation of Young. But the first of these circumstances could not be the foundation of a warrant of commitment for high treason against her lord. And, with regard to the other, Lord Marlborough was detained in the Tower, after Young’s imposture was detected, and until the French invasion was defeated. It is difficult to reconcile the Dutches’s sincerity with her denial of Lord Marlborough’s intrigues with James, unless we can suppose (a thing not impossible) that he did not trust her with them.

* The other side of the question. † Ralph and the authorities he quotes.

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1698.

Disgrace of
the Princess
Anne.

designs of that prince, and to enable others to disappoint them. Perhaps some may think, and I have heard it said, that Lord Godolphin, Lord Marlborough, and Russell, had the same permission. What their views were, is only known to that God, who is the great searcher of hearts; but I have related their actions, according to evidence I have seen, which I cannot distrust. The original papers which prove the truth of these intrigues, are in the Scotch college at Paris, from whence Mr. Carte made copies of many of them. These, together with many original papers which Mr. Carte got elsewhere upon the same subject, are published by Mr. M^rPherson.

But it was much more difficult to resolve upon the conduct which it was prudent for the King and Queen to observe with regard to the Princess. For, to use rigours against the presumptive heir to the crown upon suspicion, and upon suspicion of corresponding with her father, would have raised equally the indignation and the pity of the nation. And, on the other hand, to leave her in possession of all the weight of her condition to be employed against themselves, appeared imprudent. In this state of difficulty, measures, as usually happens in all difficult cases, were followed, which were prompted from time to time by temper, not determined by previous reflection. From one of the princess's letters to Lady Marlborough, it appears*, that the night before Lord Marlborough was dismissed, the Queen threatened the Princess with the loss of her revenue. Afterwards, upon her bringing Lady Marlborough to court, during the disgrace of Lord Marlborough, the Queen insisted, that the Princess should dismiss her from her service, partly to mortify, but more to reclaim her sister: And, upon her refusal, sent orders to Lady Marlborough to quit the

* Dutches of Marlborough, p. 8.

cockpit, which induced the Princess, from pride and resentment, to quit it likewise. Her guards were then taken from her, and the ladies at court forbidden to wait upon her: When she retired to Bath, the mayor was reprimanded for paying her the accustomed public honours, and ordered to discontinue them for the future: And many other little indignities were put upon her, to mark to all the loss of her consequence.

Louis the XIVth, in the mean time, intoxicated by seeing the divisions of his enemies transferred from Ireland into the court, the service, and the royal family of England, gave orders for Tourville to sail, and fight the English fleet, in order to clear the way for the transports which were to follow him. But all accidents and all circumstances proved fatal to France and to James. Rear-Admiral Carter, with one squadron, had hovered for some weeks between the Guernsey islands, and the opposite coast of France; and Sir Ralph Delavalle, with another, had ranged along the French coast from thence to Calais; but Russel, with the great body of the fleet, was still in the river; and the Dutch had not yet quitted their own harbours. Tourville more than once attempted to sail from Brest, to fight the two first of these fleets, but was driven back. The same adverse winds kept D'Etrées from joining him with the Toulon squadron of 12 ships. On the contrary, partly from favourable winds, and partly from the prudence and clearness with which their plans had been laid, all the four fleets of the allies had joined and fixed their grand station at St. Helen's, to defend England, at the very time when Tourville received his last orders to fight. Upon this great junction, messengers were dispatched from England, to warn France of her danger. Louis sent orders to stop Tourville. But the orders came too late. Although James had communicated to Tourville

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Bad fortune
of the
French fleet,
and good
fortune of
the allies
fleet.

his

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his secret intelligence with the English fleet, and directed him to avoid it; yet, from a monarch's shame, he concealed, that his own subject and partizan had threatened to fire upon the fleet of his allies, although it waisted himself to his kingdom. Tourville's honour too had been irritated by Seignelai. For, upon his return to France, after the battle of Beachy-head, Seignelai, who was peevish with the disappointment of his favourite project, had reproached him, for not burning the English shipping in their harbours; and when Tourville marked his sense of the reproach as a reflection upon his courage, Seignelai replied with an apology which doubled the injury, that there were men, "*qui étoient poltrons de teste, qu'on qu'ils ne l'étoient point du coeur.*" Hence Tourville, prompted by the glory of giving a king to England, of gaining honour to France without dagger, and by the opportunity of wiping off all imputations from himself, had failed the moment he got his orders to fight, rejoicing in them, and apprehensive lest they might be recalled.

The Queen's
message to
the fleet.

After the English and Dutch fleets, consisting of 99 ships of the line, and carrying above 7000 guns and above 40,000 men, the greatest navy that ever covered the ocean, had taken their station at St. Helen's, the anxieties of the nation redoubled; because, in the fate of that fleet, it was plain to all, that the fate of the nation was involved. As few secrets can be kept which are intrusted to many, it had been already whispered abroad, that several officers of the English fleet were disaffected; and now the clamours of the public became loud, that the suspected officers should be changed. In this state of uncertainty who ought or ought not to be trusted, the Queen took a resolution to bind a generous class of men by a generous trust. She ordered Lord Nottingham to write to Ruffel, "That she had declared, she would
" change

"change none of her officers, and that she imputed the reports which had been raised against them, to the contrivance of her enemies, and theirs." The Admirals and Captains sent back an address, in which they vowed, "That they were ready to die in her cause and their country's." Yet Russel signed not this address, either from accident, or because he was conscious of betraying either his late master, or his present one. The Queen answered the address in these words *: "I had always this opinion of the commanders: But I am glad this is come to satisfy others." The Queen took another prudent step: Instead of prohibiting James's declaration to be read, she ordered it to be published, with an answer to it, which was drawn by Lloyd, one of the seven bishops who had been sent to the Tower; thus manifesting, that she submitted her title to the reason of her subjects, instead of betraying a fear that it could not stand examination.

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The officers had scarcely signed their address, when they insisted to sail for the coast of France, some prompted by loyalty, and others by a desire to remove suspicion. And, at a council of war, it was resolved to stretch over to Cape la Hogue.

Council of
war.

On the 18th of May, the combined fleets sailed. The French fleet, of about 50 ships of the line, was at that time at sea in quest of the English, and was descried next day, at three o'clock in the morning, about seven leagues from Barfleur. As the French were many leagues to the windward, they might easily have avoided an engagement; and all the flag-officers advised Tourville to retire: But he continued his course. Russel's motions filled him for some time with hopes: For Russel's fleet was not in order until eight o'clock; he lay by with

The fleets
meet.

* Gazette, May 16.

his

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his fore-top-sail to the mast, until twelve o'clock; and allowed the enemy to come within half musket-shot of him, before he flung out the bloody flag. During this interval, the bold advance of Tourville with so unequal a force, together with the tardiness of Ruffel*, raised doubt and anxieties in many of the English captains. They looked around, to see when their own officers were to rise up against them, or when the ships next to theirs were to quit the line, and sail over to their enemies.

The action
of the first
day.

Tourville, who was in the Royal Sun, carrying 110 guns, the finest ship in Europe, passed all the Dutch and English ships which he found in his way, singled out Ruffel, and bore down upon him. But, by the reception which he got, he was soon convinced of his mistake, in thinking, that an English admiral could, in consideration of any interest upon earth, strike to a French one. Though conscious of the inferiority of his fleet, he was, however, ashamed to abandon a situation, which his officers had in vain advised him to avoid. And the rest of the admirals and the captains, ashamed to abandon their head, joined in the action as fast as they came up, and maintained it, not so much hoping to gain honour, as striving to lose as little as they could. The engagement between the two admirals ships lasted an hour and a half, and then Tourville was towed off, being obliged to retire by the damage which he had sustained in his rigging; But five French ships instantly closed in, and saved him. The battle, in the mean time, went on in different parts, with uncertain success, from the vast number of the ships engaged, which sometimes gave aid to the distressed, and at other times snatched victory from those who thought they were sure of it. Alemond,

* Burchet,

the Dutch admiral, who was in the van, and had received orders to get round the French fleet, in order that no part of it might escape, attempted in vain to obey: And a thick fog, at four o'clock in the afternoon, separated the combatants from the view of each other. In about two hours, the fog cleared up. It was then observed, that Tourville, instead of repairing his rigging, had withdrawn to the rear, and that the French line was broke in many other places. Russel, certain that Tourville would not have retired, unless it had been resolved that his fleet was to fly, made a signal to chase from all quarters, without any regard to order. In one of the engagements during this chase, Rear-Admiral Carter was killed, giving orders, with his last breath, to the officer next in command, to fight the ship as long as she could swim: A proof either that his correspondence with James had been maintained with a view to deceive him, or that the last passion in an Englishman's breast is the love of his country. The running engagement of the afternoon was, like the regular one of the forenoon, interrupted by a fog, and afterwards by a calm, and in the end it was closed by darkness.

During the night, the two fleets off the shallow coast of France anchored close to each other; yet the impetuosity of some English officers carried their ships through the French fleet, and Sir Cloudsley Shovel, with his division, had got between Tourville's squadron and the rest of the French fleet: So that the ships of the three nations lay intermingled with each other during the night, waiting for the morning with impatience, uncertain whether they were among friends or foes, and judging of their distances from other ships, only by the signals of distress which they heard, or the flames of the ships which were on fire.

State of the
fleets during
the night.

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Chase along
the coast of
France on
the 2d day.

The arrival of the morning brought a renewal of the chase. But the French fleet was now reduced to 34 ships; four, which had taken fire in the engagement, being blown up during the night, and the rest having escaped. This day was signalized by no engagement, but by a spectacle far more important, that of the English fleet chasing the French one along their own coasts, and in the sight of innumerable crowds of their countrymen upon the shores. The French, in their flight, were met by a fresh squadron of 16 ships, which were coming to join them*: But these ships, perceiving the fate of their friends, turned to flight, and shared in that disgrace which they could not prevent. Fogs, calms, tides, and the veering of winds, saved France from the vengeance of England and Holland for one day.

Operations
of the 3d
and 4th day.

Upon the third day, Tourville's ship, the Royal Sun, with his two seconds, one of 90, and the other of 84 guns, together with some frigates, took refuge upon the coast, near Cherburg, and 18 more of the largest ships followed their example, near la Hogue: The rest, being more fortunate, drove through the race of Alderney. Ruffel ordered the main body of the fleet under Sir John Ashby to pursue that of the enemy; left Sir Ralph Delavalle with one squadron to destroy the ships at Cherburg; and stationed himself with another to confine those which were at la Hogue. As the art of sailing was not so much improved then as it has been since, Ashby durst not pursue enemies who pointed him the way through a passage, which another admiral †, with a squadron and a great fleet of transports, went through in our day, with ease, and without the flying sails of an enemy to direct him. But Delavalle, next day, burnt the three ships, together with the frigates, at Cherburg, not without

* Gazette, 23d May.

† Lord Howe.

some pain, even to those who were destroying them without that heat of temper which opposition creates, when they considered what magnificent fabrics they were reducing to ashes.

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And now, upon the fifth day, some of Delavalle's ships having advanced, and some of Ashby's having returned to join Ruffel's Squadron, Ruffel made preparations to destroy the enemy's ships at la Hogue, which were now reduced to thirteen, five of them having the day before, in the hurry and confusion, made their escape. The French had employed all the interval of time, which Ruffel had left them since their ships had taken refuge, in making provisions to defend them. The ships themselves were drawn up as far upon the shallows, as tides and cables could bring them: They were covered with the forts De Lislet and De la Hogue: Platforms were raised on shore, and planted with all the artillery of the army: Numbers of chaloups filled with officers and men lined the shoals: Behind stood all the French army ready drawn up: And, upon a height between the ships and the army, King James, the Duke of Berwick, Marischal Bellefonde, Tourville, and other great land and sea officers, placed themselves to behold the action, and to give their orders. All precautions were taken, except one which James had suggested, and which was the best: For, when he saw the French seamen disheartened by defeat, flight, pursuit, and the necessity of taking refuge, he foretold, that no good could be expected from them; and advised, but in vain, that a number of the regiments, and of the artillery-men, should be put on board the ships, where they could fight with the same steadiness as if they had been in land-castles, because the ships were aground.

Operations
of the two
last days.

Ruffel gave the charge of the attack to Vice-Admiral Rooke: Rooke advanced with several men of war, fri-

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gates, and fire-ships, together with all the boats of the fleet. But he soon found, that the men of war could not get within reach; that the frigates could only advance so far as to cover the attack; and that the whole service depended upon the boats. In this situation, he gave only a general order for the boats to advance, surround the enemies ships, and board or burn where they best could; leaving all the rest to the spirit of the seamen. The seamen strove with each other, whose barge should be foremost, and singled out the particular ships they were to attack, according as their fancy, and sometimes as a merry mood, directed them. They made use of their oars alone as they advanced, without firing upon the platforms, the chaloups, or the vessels aground. As soon as they got to the sides of the ships, throwing away their musquets, they gave three huzzas; and scrambling up the heights above them, with their cutlasses in their hands, and many without any arms at all, some cut the rigging; others set fire to the vessel; others pointed the guns of the ships against the French chaloups, platforms, and forts. Few assaulted the mariners within, because they accounted the ships to be their only foes. From this circumstance, the French mariners often went off undisturbed in their boats, from one side of a French ship, while the English had entered, and were destroying it upon the other. But at last, tired with doing mischief in detail, the assailants all joined together to burn the enemies ships; and having set fire to them, descended, with the same huzzas with which they had boarded. In this way, they burnt six the first day. The rest, together with a great number of transports and ammunition ships, shared the same fate the next morning; the enemies making little resistance, because they saw it was fruitless. Few prisoners were taken: For the officers were possessed with the idea of the sea-

men,

men, that the destruction of the ships was their only object; and some of them even made apologies to government * for having incumbered themselves with prisoners †.

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During this action, a generous exclamation burst from James: For, when he first saw the seamen in swarms scrambling up the high sides of the French ships from their boats, he cried out, "Ah! none, but my brave English could do so brave an action!"

Unhappy
condition of
James.

Words which were immediately carried through the French camp, creating offence and respect at the same time. After both the French and English had abandoned the vessels which were on fire, some of their guns, which had not been discharged, went off, whilst the vessels were burning to the water's edge, and a few of the balls passed near James's person, and killed some of those who were around him. He then said, Heaven fought against him; and retired to his tent. His calamity was increased by a letter which he received, the same day, from the Princess Anne, full of tenderness and contrition. She assured him, that she would fly to him as soon as he landed; and concluded with saying, "She could ask for his forgiveness, because, being his daughter, she could hope for it: But how could she ask him to present her duty to the Queen?" The letter was dated so far back as the 10th of December: But Lloyd, who brought it, had been prevented by accidents from delivering it sooner. The original severity of James's mind had been softened into tenderness by his misfortunes. Sir Charles Littleton having, some time before, said to him, He was ashamed that his son was with the Prince of Orange; James,

* Sir Ralph Delavalle's letter in Gazette May 23.

† Burchet. Dr. Campbell, Gazette, And papers in the Paper-office.

taking

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taking him by the hand, interrupted him with these words, "Alas! Sir Charles, why ashamed? Are not my daughters with him *?" Russel ordered solemn prayers and a thanksgiving through all his fleet for the victory †. In England, a present of thirty thousand pounds was given by the Queen to the seamen, and public funerals were bestowed upon those officers whose bodies were brought on shore. But, in France, James slowly and sadly returned to bury the remembrance of his greatness in the convent of La-Trappe. All his attempts, and those of his family afterwards, to recover the throne of their ancestors, were either disappointed by the insincerity of French friendship, or were the mere efforts of despair.

Whoever perceives not, in the events of the period to which these Memoirs relate, the hand of and Almighty Providence, which, upon the ruins of an illustrious but misguided family, raised up a mighty nation, to show mankind the sublime heights to which liberty may conduct them, must be blind indeed! May that Providence, which conferred liberty upon our ancestors at the revolution, grant that their posterity may never either lose the love of it upon the one hand, or abuse the enjoyment of it upon the other!

* This anecdote I had from Lord Littleton. His Lordship told me another anecdote of his ancestors: Sir Charles was one of King James's Brigadiers-General: After the revolution, King William offered him a regiment, and to send him Major General to Flanders, making him at the same time some compliments upon the sentiments which he had often expressed against the growth of the French power. Sir Charles declined accepting. The King asked his reason, "Because," said Sir Charles, "I received great obligations from my old master: I hear he will be in the French camp; and, if he should be there, I cannot answer for myself, that I should not desert to him." The King answered, "You are a man of honour, I will not desire you to act against your principle: Disturb not the government, and we shall be very good friends."

† Gazette, May 26.

A P P E N D I X

T O

P A R T II. B O O K VII.

Lord Marlborough to King William.—Complaints of Lord Caermarthen. [In King William's Cabinet.]

S I R,

Whitehall, Feb. 17th, 1691.

I HERE send your Majesty a copy of what we have done concerning the recruits; I must, at the same time, take leave to tell your Majesty, that I am tired out of my life with the unreasonable way of proceeding of Lord President, for he is very ignorant what is fit for an officer, both as to recruits, and every thing else as to a soldier; so that, when I have given such as I think necessary orders, he does what he thinks fit, and enters into the business of tents, arms, and the office-reckonings, which were all settled before your Majesty left England, so that at this rate business is never done; but I think all this proceeds from, I hope, the unreasonable prejudice he has taken against me, which makes me incapable of doing you that service which I do with all my heart, and should wish to do, for I do with much truth wish both your person and government to prosper; I hope it will not be long before your Majesty will be here, after which I shall beg never to be in England when you are not.

*Part of a letter from Lord Sydney to King William.—
Suspensions of Lord Godolphin. [In King William's
cabinet.]*

March 6, 1697.

I MUST now go to another business, and tell your Majesty that my Lord Godolphin's quitting your service is now no secret, for my Lord Halifax told me the other day, therefore your Majesty must think of a new model for that office; I have prepared one for you, which you may receive or reject, as you think good; what my Lord Godolphin does in the treasury, I cannot tell, but I see his proceedings in other places are not with that zeal for your service, as might be expected from him; he scarce ever comes to counsel, and never to the committees upon the taking of several ill-affected persons, and at the examination of them he never was present; what the reason of it is I cannot tell.

Lord Marlborough to King William.—About Lord Godolphin's resignation. [In King William's cabinet.]

Jan. 27th, 1697.

I DO let no day pass without speaking to Lord Godolphin about what you commanded; nor will I be rebuted in it, although I do not find that I prevail much on him, any otherways than that I find it makes him melancholy: That which I urge most to him is your personal kindness to him, and I find that has weight with him, so that I beg you will take all opportunities of writing kindly to him, and that before your return you will in a kind letter tell him, that you have so much personal kindness for him, that you deserve better than that he should abandon you at this time, when you have most need of his service.

Part of Lord Sydney's letter to King William.—On the same subject.—Godolphin is to resign. [In King William's cabinet.]

Feb. 3, 1697.

THE cabinet counsell I believe the Queen tells your Majesty is very thin, and at the committee for Irish affairs there is nobody but my Lord President, Lord Pembroke, and myself; sometimes Sir Harry Goodricke: what the reason of it is, I will not go about to determine. Since I had the honour to write to your Majesty, I have had some discourse with my Lord Godolphin, and particularly about his own affairs: I find him much resolved to do, what he said he would to your Majesty; he lays it most upon his wife, and saith it will not be convenient for a man of business that is not very young, to bring a wife near the court: Upon the whole matter, I see plainly he will not stay long in your service; and your Majesty must take your measures accordingly, and consider who is fittest to serve you in that station.

Lord Godolphin to King William.—On the same subject. [Ditto.]

Feb. 13, 1697.

I AM humbly to acknowledge the honour of your Majesty's letter of the 6th, and the great goodness you are pleased to express in it as to my particular; as it is no surprize to me, who have already received so many proofs of your Majesty's kindness to me, so I hope you will be pleased favourably to consider the impossibility I am under, with regard to my present circumstances at this time, to depart from the humble request which I presumed to make to your Majesty before you went away,

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and

and that you will have so well considered into what hands to put the care of your business in the treasury, that my absence from that place shall rather prove an advantage to your Majesty's service there, than bring any farther difficulties upon it. How long my natural temper and inclination will suffer me to remain in the retirement I propose to myself, I cannot be answerable for, till I have tried it; but this I know, that in all places and in all conditions, I shall still retain the same duty and gratitude for your Majesty, and the same sense of your favours to me, as if I were every moment under your own observation, and had the honour to continue always near your Majesty.

Lord Marlborough to King William.—On the same subject.
[In King William's cabinet.]

Feb. 13, 1691.

MY Lord Godolphin showed me your Majesty's letter to him, which was so full of kindness that I hope the more he thinks of it, the better it will be; although I must own to your Majesty that he has not as yet altered his resolution; but he writes to you at large on this subject, so that I shall give you no farther trouble, but assuring you that I will lose no occasion of letting him see the obligation he has, in return to your Majesty's kindness, to spend his life in your service, which I do with all my heart wish for.

Lord Marlborough to King William.—On the same subject.
[Ditto.]

Feb. 24, 1691.

I AM sorry to tell your Majesty that Lord Godolphin continues very obstinate, so that I have no hopes but your own prevailing when you speak with him,

*Lord Godolphin to King William.—Is desirous to resign.—
Complains of getting orders that he does not like. [In
King William's cabinet.]*

March 13, 1690.

THE Queen has been pleased to lay her commands upon us at the treasury, in two particulars, to neither of which I could ever have given my consent at this time, nor have set my hand to them, were it not for the consideration of my own particular circumstances, which do not leave me at liberty to be stubborn in any thing, though never so reasonable, for fear your Majesty might think I would take a pretext, from any occasion of that kind, to procure a freedom to myself, which I am much more desirous to owe to your Majesty's grace and favour only.

The two particulars are, 1st, My Lord President's pension for twenty-one years upon the post-office, which certainly, to say no more, is very unseasonable at this time, and perhaps more unseasonable for him than for any body else; but for that, there is a French proverb, *chacuns scait ses affaires, ou les doit scavoir*.

The other particular is the finding of 16,000*l.* towards my Lord Bathe's arrears, which perhaps might also have been as well forborn, till the reign of the commissioners of accounts had been expired; the powers of their commission are very large by the act of parliament, and I do not find but that they are willing to carry them to the utmost extent.

*Part of a letter from Lord Godolphin to King William.—
On the same subject. [Ditto.]*

Tunbridge, Aug. 10, 1691.

YOUR Majesty will forgive me, if upon this occasion

I humbly oblige to you, that you may see the business in the treasury can be as readily, and as carefully,

dispatched in my absence, as when I am there; and therefore I hope your Majesty will be the less surprized at your return, if you find me persist in my humble request, that you would then be pleased to dispense with my further service there, especially since I can never hope by these waters, or by any thing else, to be so freed from the distemper that troubles me, as that the attendance upon business must not always increase it, and consequently be extremely uneasy to me.

Part of a letter from Lord Sidney to King William. — Suspicions of Lord Godolphin. [In King William's cabinet.]

July 12, 1692.

I HAVE been with the lords of the treasury, and told them the necessity of having some money for Ireland; they received me very civilly, but as soon as I was gone, they never thought more of it, and I see plainly some of the treasury don't care how any thing goes. My Lord Godolphin is angry upon my Lord Marlborough's account, Mr. Hampden upon his nephew's, Sir Edward Seymore is out of town, Sir St. Fox yields to my lord Godolphin in every thing, and Mr. Montague saith nothing: I have troubled your Majesty enough in money matters, and have little to add of any importance. Every body here is taking their pleasure as much as they can, but I must needs say that I believe the club (your Majesty knows who I mean) are framing some designs that are not for your service; whether my Lord Godolphin be in it or no, I cannot tell, but he hath put off his journey to Tunbridge, which he was fond of a month ago, and that gives me some suspicion. I hope their designs will come to nothing, and that your undertakings may be as prosperous as the humblest of your servants does passionately wish them.

Admiral Ruffel to King William.—Complains of ill usage, and reproaches the King with his services. [In King William's cabinet.]

SIR, On board the Britannia, May 10, 1691.

SINCE the accidents of war may possibly put it out of my power of having the honour to see your Majesty again, I beg, with all imaginable submission and respect, you will give me leave to lay some things before you, which truly my bashfulness would not permit me to do by word of mouth, when your Majesty was in England. I am sensible, Sir, with how little justice I can pretend to any share in your Majesty's favour, having never in any kind deserved the favours and honours you have pleased to show me, nor am I conscious to myself that I have ever been troublesome, or importunate with your Majesty, for any thing that might better my own condition, unless it was for the grant of Rigate, which I as soon desisted in, as I found your Majesty backward in granting, concluding from that time your Majesty did not think me deserving of a small favour, when at the same time you was pleased to bestow, on several others, great gifts. But that which afflicts me, Sir, is, that I should have a brother who appeared one of the first in your interest and service, who chose rather to lose all his appointments in the late King James's service, which were very considerable, than not show a zeal for his country's service. It was not two years before that he gave a considerable sum of money, by the then King's command, to be in the bed-chamber, with assurances he would speedily make that up again to him. I durst not have said thus much in his behalf, had not your Majesty been pleased to tell me he had done his duty in Ireland; like a good officer and

a brave man; but, Sir, a lieutenant colonel of horse will not keep him; his expences in Ireland, to appear as he ought, have made him in his own fortune so much a worse man, that he has been forced to quit the service, and seek a subsistence by marrying an old widow, rather than spend all he has, and run the hazard of wanting afterwards. And really the several voyages at sea your Majesty has commanded my services in, have been so very expensive to me, that, notwithstanding the place of three thousand pounds a year I hold through your favour, and my own little fortune, have not been able to hinder me from contracting a considerable debt, which makes me incapable of giving him that assistance my inclination leads me to. I have, Sir, a sister, who, during King James's reign, never failed of being paid her pension, though I think not any of our family was ever very serviceable to him; but since your Majesty came to the crown, she has never received any thing of it, though she is informed several others have received from your Majesty that grace and favour, when they were only gifts of grace; her's, I am sure, was for a valuable consideration, a debt, to provide for her younger children, without which they can have no portion, this being the provision Mr. Cook their father made for them in his will. These things have given me great mortification, that you are pleased to show the world my family is less deserving of your favours than others. It was my luck to be so favourably thought on, when the design was laid of your Majesty's coming over, by most people that were able to do service or to obstruct, I mean the military men both by sea and land, that they believed me in what I said, and depended on the credit I had with your Majesty to render them service when God was pleased to settle you here; but such has been my ill fortune, that I have not been able

to

to recommend them to your favour, and most of them are in a worse condition, in point of income, than in the late reign: it has convinced them how little regard your Majesty has for what I say in their behalf; and they see great places and rewards given to men, who gave you what opposition was in their power, while themselves, who were the chief instruments of your meeting no stop while you marched in England, reduced, if not to want, to much a greater necessity than they ever knew before. These things I thought a duty incumbent upon me to lay before your Majesty, as also a justice to myself. I pray God bless your Majesty, and send you both by sea and land good success. Now I have troubled you with my afflictions, I shall be at ease, and whatever your pleasure is, and whatever condition mine or my family is, your Majesty shall always find me, with all faith and duty,

Your Majesty's most obedient, &c.

Prince George of Denmark to King William, asking a garter for Lord Marlborough. [In King William's cabinet.]

S I R, Tunbridge, Aug. 2, 1691.

I BEG leave once more to put you in mind of the promise you made me of a garter, which I hope you will now remember, there being two vacancies by the death of the Duke of Newcastle; and I flatter myself that your Majesty will be so kind to bestow it upon Lord Marlborough, for my sake, it being the only thing I have ever pressed you for.

The Princess Anne to King William.—On the same subject.
[Ditto.]

S I R, Tunbridge, Aug. 2.

I HOPE you will pardon me for giving you this trouble, but I cannot help seconding the request the Prince has now made to you, to remember your promise of a
garter

garter for my Lord Marlborough ; you cannot certainly bestow it upon any one that has been more serviceable to you in the late revolution, nor that has ventured their lives for you, as he has done ever since your coming to the crown ; But if people will not think these merits enough, I cannot believe any body will be so unreasonable to be dissatisfied, when it is known you are pleased to give it him on the Prince's account and mine. I am sure I shall ever look upon it as a mark of your favour to us ; I will not trouble you with any ceremony, because I know you do not care for it.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the Duke of Hamilton.—Account of Lord Marlborough's disgrace. [In King William's cabinet.]

London, Jan. 21, 1692.

— I BELIEVE your grace will be surpris'd to hear that my Lord Marlborough is out of all his employment, and the manner was very disagreeable to him ; for in his waiting week, which is this, after having put on the King's shirt in the morning, before twelve o'clock my Lord Nottingham was sent to him, to tell him that the King had no further need of his service, and that he was to dispose of all his employments, besides forbidding him the court. Every body make their guesses what are his crimes. Some say that he was endeavouring to breed division in the army, and to make himself the more necessary, besides his endeavouring to make an ill correspondence betwixt the Princess and the court, but every body have their different thoughts ; but this being late yesterday, all the matter is not well known, but I believe a few days will bring all to light ; so I shall not guess any more, but by my next give your grace the best account I can, and trouble your grace no more at present.

Part of Lord Devonshire's letter to King William, inclosing Sir John Fenwick's confession. [In King William's box.]

Aug. 14, 1696.

THE inclosed is the paper given me by Sir John Fenwick on the 10th instant, written in his own hand, which he made me pass my word should be communicated to your Majesty only; and I believe your Majesty, when you read it, will not wonder he exacted that promise from me. I may truly say I should have been very glad not to have been trusted with this secret, being very unwilling to believe what is there suggested of persons for whom I have a great respect, and which, as your Majesty may please to observe, is for the most part hearsay. All that I can say is, that whether your Majesty gives no credit at all to that part of this paper, or if you do, and in consideration of the difference of times, would have no notice taken of it, some of them being in places of the highest trust, and in all appearance very firm to your interest now, I humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, that whatever part of this paper you would have kept secret shall remain so inviolably for me.

Extract of the examinations and confessions of Peter Cook, son to Sir Miles Cook. He was condemned for the assassination-plot, but afterwards pardoned. [In King William's box.]

“ HE gives an account of his having been in France several years ago; that he went on my Lady Philips her business; but being there, was introduced to King James, and carried over the compliments of several persons to the King; particularly from Archbishop Sandcroft, Lord Ailesbury, Lord Montgomery, Sir John Fenwick, Lord Clarendon, Lord Litchfield, Lord Huntingdon, Lord Weymouth, Sir Edward Seymour,

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and others : he brought back messages to some of them, and was bid to see the Marquis of Halifax, as being a man of honour, who received him very civilly ; he brought over instructions from King James for the borrowing 6000 l. they were directed to Lord Ailesbury, Lord Litchfield, and Lord Brudenell, but they all excused it.

Mrs. Iron sent him advice of the La Hogue business, which he communicated to Lord Halifax, whereupon he found him uneasy at his staying longer with him, and told him he knew what he had to do.

He says, at that time there was a meeting at a tavern in Holbourn, where were the Lord Brudenell, Sir Theophilus Ogelthorpe, Sir Francis Windham, Major George Matthews, Mr. Bruce, Colonel Fountaine, one Holmes, and several others : they advised with one another what they should do upon that invasion ; it was resolved those who had horses should rendezvous towards Cane-wood, and those who had none should get near the Tower, to join with Sir John Friend's party. There was a regiment lined with yellow, which they were told they might depend upon."

Lord Shrewsbury to King William.—Denies Sir John Fenwick's charge.—Owns intercourse with Lord Middleton.
[In the King's cabinet.]

S I R,

Whitehall, Sept. 8, 1696.

I WANT words to express my surprize at the impudent and unaccountable accusation of Sir Jo. Fenwick ; I will, with all the sincerity imaginable, give your Majesty an account of the only thing I can recollect, that should give the least pretence to such an invention, and I am confident you will judge there are few men in the kingdom that have not so far transgressed the law.

After your Majesty was pleased to allow me to lay down my employment, it was more than a year before I once saw my Lord Middleton, then he came and staid in town a while, and returned to the country; but a little before the La Hogue business, he came up again, and upon that alarm being put in the Tower, when people were permitted to see him, I visited him as often as I thought decent for the nearness of our alliance. Upon his enlargement, one night at supper, when he was pretty well in drink, he told me he intended to go beyond seas, and asked if I would command him no service; I then told him, by the course he was taking, it would never be in his power to do himself, or his friends service, and if the time should come that he expected, I looked upon myself as an offender not to be forgiven, and therefore he should never find me asking it; in the condition he was then, he seemed shocked at my answer, and it being some months after, before he went, he never mentioned his own going, or any thing else to me, but left a message with my aunt, that he thought it better to say nothing to me, but that I might depend upon his good offices upon any occasion, and in the same manner he relied upon mine here, and had left me trustee for the small concerns he had in England; I only bowed, and told her, I should always be ready to serve her, or him, or their children.

Your Majesty now knows the extent of my crime, and if I do not flatter myself, it is no more than a King may forgive.

I am sure when I consider with what reason, justice, and generosity your Majesty has weighed this man's information, I have little cause to apprehend your ill opinion upon his malice. I wish it were as easy to answer for the reasonableness of the generality of the world: when such a base invention shall be made public,

they may perhaps make me incapable of serving you, but if till now I had had neither interest nor inclination, the noble and frank manner with which your Majesty has used me upon this occasion, shall ever be owned with all the gratitude in my power.

My Lord Steward being at the Bath, nothing was resolved as to Sir Jo. Fenwick's tryal till his answer returns.

Lord Shrewsbury to King William.—Desires leave to resign the seals on account of the suspicion he is under. [In King William's box.]

S I R,

Eyford, Oct. 18, 1696.

I HAVE endeavoured to come to London to receive your Majesty's commands and directions, but by what happened yesterday, I find at present it is impossible for me, and in all appearance will be so for a long time : I am very sensible your Majesty's affairs must necessarily receive great prejudice by the absence of one in my post : and since it is very doubtful whether I shall ever so well recover this accident, as to be capable of serving in the station I have the honour to be in at present, and most certain it cannot be of a long time, I humbly and earnestly beg your Majesty will allow me to return the seals into your hands ; besides my incapacity upon this illness, I am sure, Sir, you must think it impossible for any man to serve in so nice an employment as your secretary, that has the misfortune to lye under the suspicion though but of a few. I do not doubt but in my private capacity, I shall have occasions to demonstrate my fidelity and loyalty to your Majesty. In the mean time I repeat my request, and beg leave to put you in mind of your promise at my receiving the seals, that I should be at liberty to return them without your Majesty's displeasure, whenever I found the place uneasy ; now, Sir, that

that it happens to be impossible for me to execute it, and for your disservice that I should, I hope you will accept this, tender as designed with all duty to yourself, and affection to your government; for inclination, interest, gratitude, self-preservation, every thing that is valuable to an honest or a reasonable man, oblige me to what I sincerely am.

In King William's box there is the following scheme by Lord Rochester upon the conduct of Parliament, and of the war, after the battle of La Hogue; with notes upon the margin in Lord Caermarthen's hand writing: as follows.

IT is with all humility represented to the king, that if his Majesty should not return into England earlier this year than he did the last, there may the like inconveniencies happen, which did then, by not having taken sufficient measures for the carrying on his business in the parliament; which as it did very much delay all the preparations for the last year, so it might perhaps to a great degree disappoint those that would be necessary for the next; if it be true what is generally apprehended, that the gentlemen are not like to meet in too good a humour; for the remedying of which it might be expedient, that though there be yet more than two months before it's probable the king would have the parliament sit, there should be no time lost in taking all the consideration that is possible, and making all suitable preparations for such measures as are likeliest to succeed when it does meet; for if it should prove necessary to make any alterations, it would take a good deal of time

So far all I have spoke to, agree with him.

* Sir J. Lowther says, no body can know one day what a House of Commons would do the next, in which all agreed with him, and that makes him think it unnecessary to deliver any opinion now.

Lord Cornwallis says, had the parliament met when summoned this summer upon the victory at sea, they would have given any thing, English people being puffed up by success, which when forgot, as it soon is, their zeal will cool; so that consequently by this time it will be forgot quite, which will prove of ill consequence to your affairs.

† Lord Privy Seal, Lord Nott. Lord Com. Trevor. Lord Cornwall, and Sir J. Lowther, think it can be given if they are willing; Sir Edw. Seym. speaks doubtfully, so does Lord Steward.

time both abroad and at home to adjust every thing upon new schemes*. It were perhaps too confident a thing for any one body, and possibly for a great many, to pretend to say the parliament will or will not do any thing whatsoever that may be proposed to them; but without doubt the being distrustful that they will not meet with too great satisfaction in the transactions of this summer, is an undertaking they would not be displeased with any body that should presume to make it for them: the having given so very considerable sums of money without receiving more eminent advantages by it, will probably pass for such a sort of miscarriage, as will abate at least their zeal in giving on as they have done, especially since it may be feared very little can be said that hath not been already urged to give them hopes of better success for the future: besides, if every body were in the best disposition imaginable, it must be allowed there would be almost insuperable difficulties to struggle with †, and if three millions and a half were so hard to be compassed last year (which by the way was even too narrow a provision for the services then designed), it must needs be harder this next year to find that summe, and the seven hundred thousand pounds that are fallen short of the poll bill, which possibly the parliament may think fit to make their first care, because they have obliged themselves to make that summe good, and which though it be for the expence of the expiring year, must be had out of the product of that which is beginning, and will be a dead weight upon any new tax that might be thought on, after

after the additional excise upon beer and ale and the land shall have their new load for the service of the next year ; it is plain by experience that by no methods hitherto practised such sums can be raised in one year for the service of that year ; and the methods of new excises *, if people were as willing to fall into them, as they are generally averse from them, could not possibly, in the first year at least, turn to an account proportionable to so great an expence : this then seems to be the prospect of that matter relating to money from the opinion of those that think the calmest upon this subject, that so great summs are not to be had again this year, if every body were disposed to do what they could, which it's to be doubted is not the case neither : if this be the true state of this point, it must be submitted to his Majesty's great judgment, whether it be not more adviseable for him to fall upon some new measures that may be less expensive to the nation, then to sett his whole strefs, and employ all his credit, to pursue those were taken last year, when there is so little appearance of success ; for then may they who probably wish ill to the government, find great advantages if they shall be able to defeat what is found to be his Majesty's chief design to bring to pass †. It is not forgot here, that the falling off from any preparations less than those made the last year, may dishearten the confederates, and make them who are possibly enough disposed to it, the more ready to think of providing separately for themselves ; on which account all due care should be had to give them satisfaction, but if it should appear there is an impossibility

* Lord Com. Trevor thinks even a general excise would turn to account the first year.

† Lord Privy Seal says, if the allies did suspect we were setting up only for our own defence, they would shift for themselves, and then we were all undone. That he thinks if the allies could make a defensive war only, and you make a great descent into France, the parliament would give any thing ; or if that could

not be done, that then you should let them know that you would take care the money should circulate as much as may be here, by buying bread, cloth, and all that was possible to be bought, here at home.

* This proposal of the increasing the fleet in the manner, lord privy seal Nott. and Cornwallis say, is the most pernicious thing in the world—by laying the blame on you, as though you did it to favour the Dutch, besides the impossibility of it, as having not ships enough, nor men, unless we stop even the craft trade; but I hear the first has a little changed his mind, which he is apt to do, and lord com. Trevor laughs at it.

to prevail for the like supplys as were granted the last year, sure the next best were for his Majesty to prepare the allys by degrees, and dispose his own affairs in good time, to fall upon things that it is more probable for him to succeed in: it would in all probability be for his Majesty's service here at home, and a great disappointment to the designs of his enemies, that it might be understood here in the Parliament, that his Majesty is very sensible of the great burthens his people lye under; that he is not so much concerned for this or that particular way of carrying on the war, provided it be done in such a manner as may encourage and support his allys, and particularly if an army of so many thousand men (the pay of which to be in so great a proportion carried over and spent in a foreign country, is one of the greatest and most sensible grievances) be not suitable to the interest of England*, nor to be supported but by too great a wasting of their substance, they would in that case provide for encreasing the fleet, and let the expence the States were at on that head, be turned to pay a proportion of the King's land forces; in a word, without entering into more particulars, if it might be understood in general, that his Majesty is willing and desirous to enter into any measures that are suitable to the humour and temper of the nation, that can possibly support the true interest and greatness of it, that his Majesty's chief care and design is to bring it out of this very expensive war, into an honourable and safe peace by all the means he or they can think of, and by the hazard of his own royal person, without pre-

prescribing to them at this time the particular measures and expences they must be at in obtaining it * ; this seems at present to be the best, if not the only way to disappoint a great many ill contrivances to discompose his Majesty's affairs, and to carry on the service for one year more, which is enough to be aimed at for the present †, all which being offered with great sincerity and duty, it is hoped will need no other apology for a very well meant presumption. There is one word more to be added, which would not be done but that there is need of it from an opinion some men have taken care to publish, that the king does not take the people of England to feel what they pay, and that they could pay a great deal more, if they were well pressed to it : to which may be answered, that they never did yet in any time pay so much in so few years, and therefore it may be apprehended that a further pressing upon them might end in a general ill-will to the government, and an inclination to change it for any other they could meet with : WHICH GOD FORBID."

Whitehall, Aug. 16, 1692.

It is pleasing in perusing most of the above letters to King William, to observe the degree almost of equality, with which he, who was conscious that true superiority consists not in trifles, permitted his subjects to approach him in their letters. A reader will hardly know which most to wonder at, the spirit of an English nobleman who could write such a letter as the following to his sovereign, or the generosity of the sovereign who could forgive it. Lord Mulgrave had been brought into court

* I can't help saying it seems to me like sitting still, and letting the French King take what he will; but I hope it won't be in the power of the parliament to make Lord Rochester in the right in this, as he proved by Mr. Russell doing nothing, for he would at first have had those designs laid aside which have been frustrated by those who should have executed them.

† As Lord Roch. means very well I dare say in what he writes, so I hope to be excused for this scribbling on it; but I could not help it, having in my mind as I read this over, what others had said to me; and I took this to be the shortest way of telling it.

upon the promise of a marquis's title, a pension of 3000*l.* a year, a seat at the council board, and participation of the cabinet. King William kept the three first parts of the promise, but forgot the last. The marquis upon this wrote him the following letter, and immediately got redress.

The Marquis of Normanby to King William.

London, June 19, 1694.

“ I BEG your Majesty's pardon once more, for troubling you upon so trifling a subject as myself, though I must own a sacred promise from a King is of no small importance. But the occasion of my approaching your Majesty again this way, after I held myself obliged to take my leave humbly for ever, is a discourse I had the honour to have with the queen yesterday, by which I find all my just grievance capable of being redressed in one word from your Majesty, that I should meet with the keeper, president, privy seal, and secretaries when they are assembled. Now, Sir, this very way of their meeting with myself, was my own proposal to your Majesty, when you were pleased to advise with me about those methods, and when you were so partial as to think me so much more assiduous than the white-stafs, as to leave them out at the same time; which I neither did or do desire, but only that I should not suffer on their account by an exclusion plainly contrary to your promise, as well as to reason and the nature of business; for how is it possible to advise the queen, without being acquainted with all things and letters communicated to that meeting? I did take upon me to propose that some more probable attempt should be made immediately on the French, and not let 40 ships and 6000 men lie idle; but when the queen asked me what; how could I answer,

without being so well informed of all as others are ? For though I believe very good proposals may be made, such as it were a shame to let slip ; yet till I am let into the same knowledge with others, that which may seem now reasonable, may, for ought I know, be ridiculous and unpracticable. Thus, Sir, you see the inconvenience of the present method, which yet I submit to, if not excluded out of it : since it is a real cabinet without the name, nay called so generally now ; and there was no other in all the late King's times ; out of which too the privy seal, lord Anglesea, was ever excluded ; so that it does not go now according to places, since he is in it, without having a right, while I am out, to whom your Majesty assured it most solemnly and frequently ; once I remember with this expression, that we were composed better than formerly, and persons who could at least draw together in your business : whereas now, instead of that, I cannot be thought one who draws, but one who is dragg'd behind every body else. Your Majesty is and ought to be the master, to use me as you please ; but I beg leave to say with all due submission, that this usage, if continued, is not only below so great a King to impose, after all assurances to the contrary, by which I was brought to the council, because I depended upon them ; but it is even below me, the meanest of your subjects, to acquiesce in farther than patience and my duty oblige me.



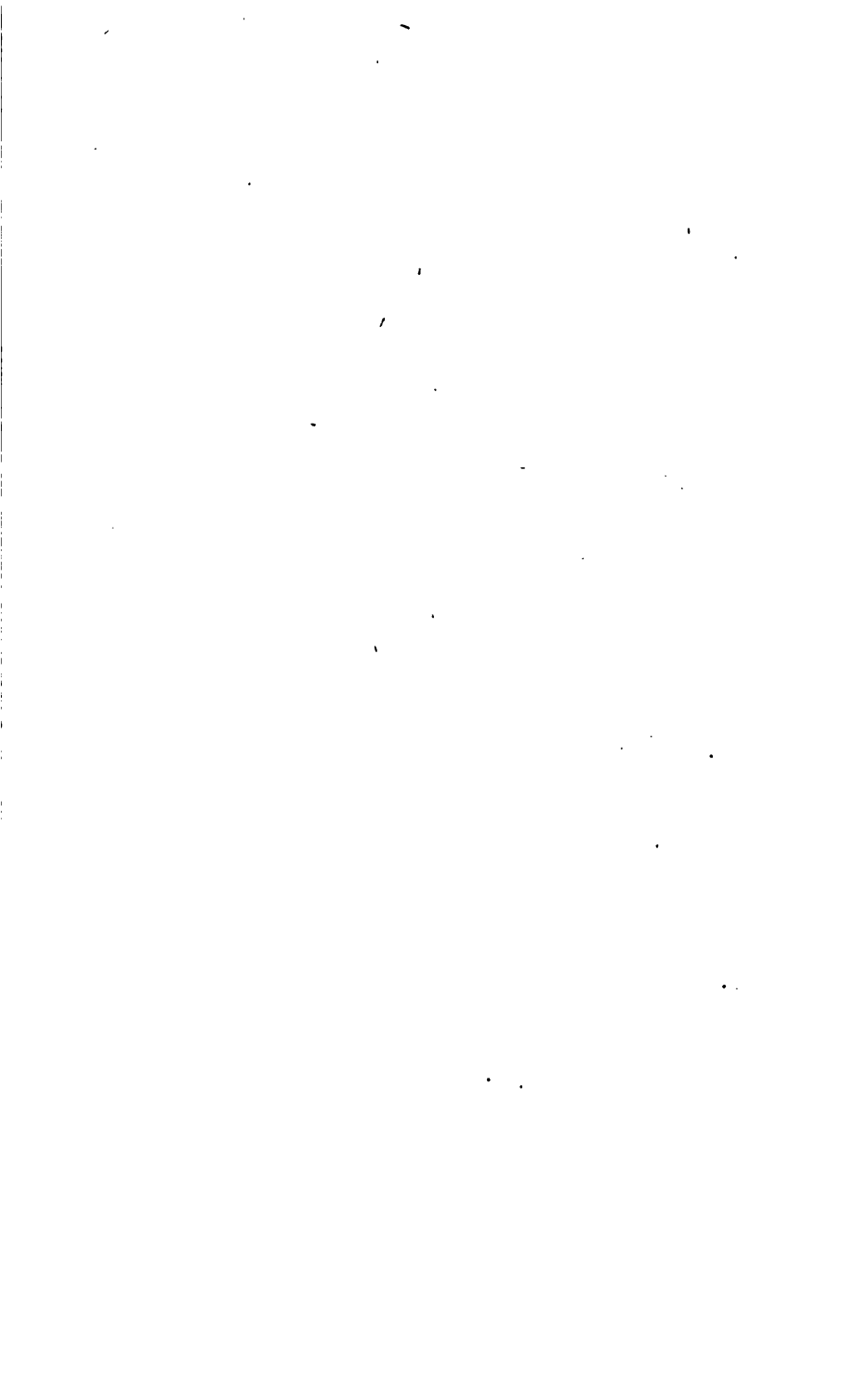
C O N T I N U A T I O N
O F T H E
MEMOIRS of GREAT BRITAIN
and IRELAND;

FROM THE
Battle off LA HOGUE till the Capture of the French
and Spanish Fleets at VIGO.

By Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE, Bart.
BARON OF EXCHEQUER IN SCOTLAND.

VOL. III.

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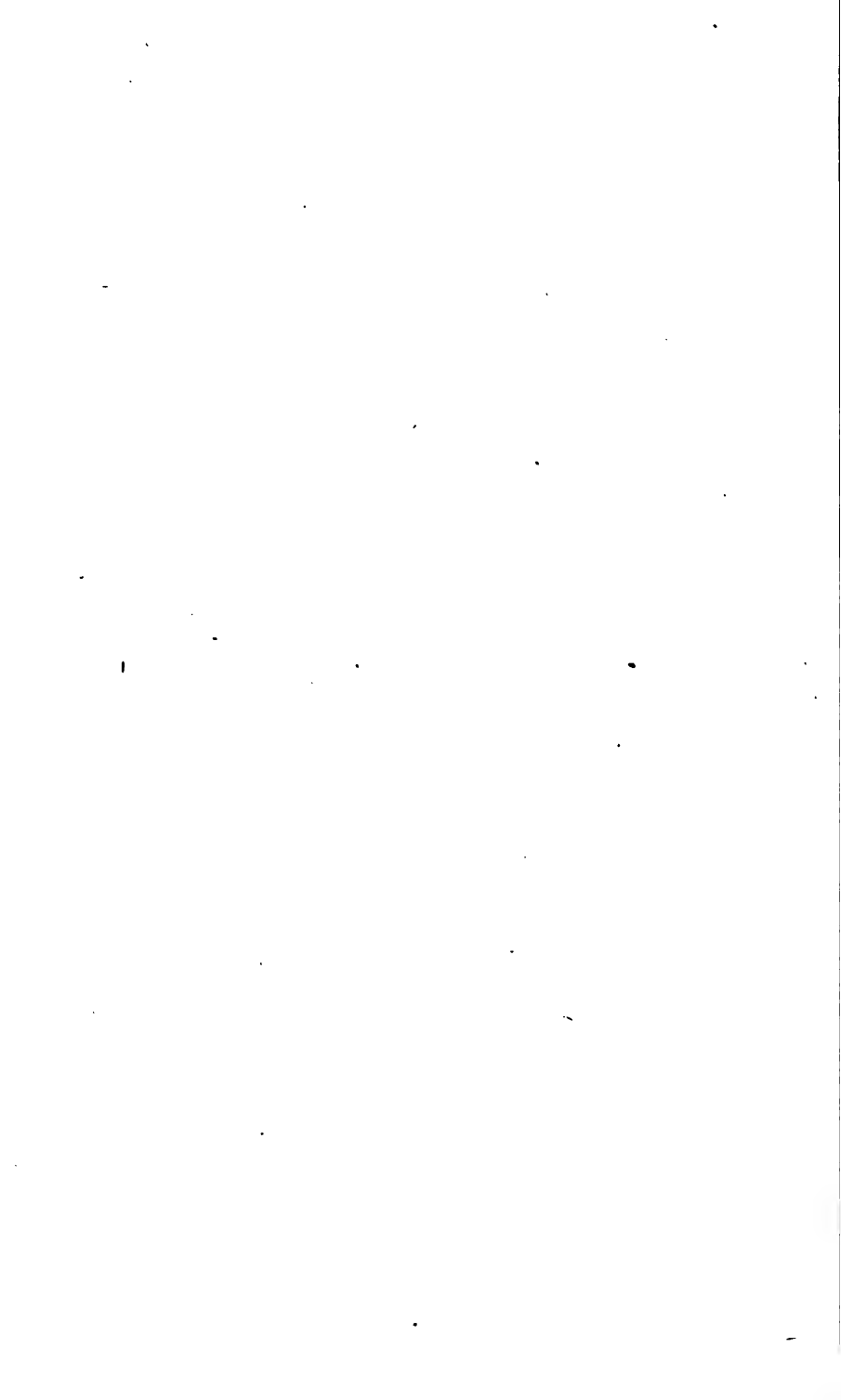
TO
LORD NORTH,

THE FOLLOWING
CONTINUATION OF THE MEMOIRS

IS DEDICATED,
BY THE AUTHOR,

AS
A TESTIMONY OF
HIS GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION.

OXENFOORD CASTLE,
Nov. 23, 1788.



P R E F A C E.

I HAVE amused several years of life with writing Memoirs of British affairs, from the Dissolution of the last Parliament of King Charles II. as far down as I could procure original materials to support my relations of events ; and, if contempt of all expence to gain such materials could make me fit for the task, I certainly was so. Fourteen years ago I published a Volume, with my Vouchers ; part of which last, after some journies to Paris, I got, by an order of the French Court, from the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangères* ; a place to which no British subject, except myself, was ever admitted. It is easy to attack a man who can produce no witness for himself. It was spread about with much malevolence and industry, that I had forged the French papers ; and, had it not been for the generosity of Lord North, who said in Parliament that the copies had been in his hands before they came to mine, these reports, strengthened by the number of publications made to give them credit, might have been believed. I am so weak as to confess that this accident, together with the uneasiness which I found my discoveries had created in families with whom I lived
in

in friendship, discouraged me; and I resolved to leave the rest of my papers with my family, to publish, or not, as they should think fit, after my death; and some parts of them, which I had given in print to my friends for their opinion, I suppressed.

But seeing England lately (as I thought) on the brink of ruin, because she was on the brink of a Continental war, I sent another volume to be published, because I thought that the pictures of misery, even amid success, which the Continental wars of the two grand alliances present, might make the Public attend to the prospect before them. But if the war should take place, I imagined that some of the papers which I had written, pointed out weak parts in the French and Spanish monarchies, which England might take advantage of in the course of the war, and which had not been sufficiently, if at all, attended to by others. These are chiefly to be found in the Notes and the Appendix; and I account them the best part of the publication, because the most useful. It may be thought, that the ideas contained in them should have been conveyed to Ministers rather than to the Public: but I have generally observed this difference between the Public and Ministers, that the former sees what is right or wrong in proposed measures through a pure air; whereas the latter, from want of time, and the arts of others, see them, for the most part, through the medium of those who sur-

round them. But, after one half of the Book was printed, the people were informed that they had escaped the fiery gulph, and therefore I stopped printing the remainder; but stopped at the destruction of the French and Spanish fleets at Vigo: an interesting period of history to Britain, because it leads to many important consequences, to which I have endeavoured to draw the public attention.

If other authors were as ingenuous as I am, they would acknowledge, that not to publish a Book, which is dressed as far as I can dress any thing, is printed, and always looks lovely in the eyes of its Author, is a piece of self-denial almost above human nature; and therefore, although the occasion that called for the Book is said to be over, I have thrown it upon the Public, which it was sincerely intended to serve.

OXENFOORD CASTLE,
Nov. 3, 1787.



P A R T III.

B O O K I.

REVIEW of the State of the War on the Continent.—And of the War by Sea.—And of Ministry.—Intended Descent upon France.—Russel removed from the Command of the Fleet.—Sufferings of Trade.—Campaign, and Attempt to assassinate the King.—A regular Opposition in Parliament.—Complaint of the Commitment of three Peers.—Inquiry into Miscarriages by Sea.—And into the Complaints of the Officers.—Attempt to obstruct Supplies.—Place Bill.—Bill for Triennial Parliaments.—Inquiry into Miscarriages in Ireland.—Lord Sidney's Government there.—Affairs of Scotland.

A. D. 1692. and 1693.

THE boundaries which naturally separate nation from nation for conveniency and defence, are mountains, seas, and great rivers. Hence the Romans, who could divide their provinces as they pleased, separated the province of Transalpine Gaul, that is, France, from Spain by the Pyrenees, from Italy and Switzerland by the Alps, from Germany and Holland by the Rhine, and from the rest of the world by the sea: But upon the irruptions of the Barbarians into France, who came at

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different times and from different countries, the chance of different conquests confounded those boundaries, and that kingdom suffered long by the loss of them; for on the south, Spain found an easy passage into France from Rouffillon, and the French Princes were annoyed, sometimes in injuring others, and sometimes in defending themselves, by the Dukes of Savoy, whose territories, full of natural strengths, came so far down upon those of France, that the troops of Savoy could do mischief to them, without receiving any in return; on the north and west, the English, from their possessions in the maritime parts of France, kept the interior provinces for ages in alarm; and on the east side of France, the Germans often attacked her from Lorrain, Alsace, Franche-compte, and the Rhine, and the houses of Burgundy, Austria, and England, from the Netherlands. The Emperor Charles V. and Henry VIII. of England, in the year 1544, formed the only wise plan of action that ever was concerted by England and the house of Austria for the humiliation of the French monarchy; because they engaged to make Paris the immediate object of the war; for which purpose Charles was to march through Champain, at the head of sixty thousand Germans, and Henry through Picardy with forty thousand men from England and the Netherlands, and neither Prince was to lose time in sieges by the way, but keep his course straight forward to their common centre of junction; a project that was disappointed, by a cause fatal to most of those projects in which the execution of one plan is committed to different powers; because these naturally prefer their particular to their general interest: For the two Princes broke faith with each other; Charles to possess himself of some frontier towns on the side of Germany, and Henry to possess himself of Boulogne and Montreuil, in the neighbourhood of England, employed

played part of the campaign in sieges, and thereby disappointed its principal intention.

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The towering spirit of Richelieu, the artful policy of Mazarine, and the junction of these two qualities in the councils of Louis XIV. seem, one after the other, to have formed a connected system to remove those disadvantages in the form of the French kingdom, by recovering the ancient limits of France: But the prosecution of this system appeared chiefly in the reign of Louis XIV. By the treaty of Munster, in the year 1648, that Prince obtained the sovereignty of Alsace, and the town of Brisac important by its natural strength, and its situation on the Rhine. By the peace of the Pyrenees in the year 1659, Spain yielded Roussillon to him. Two years after, he took advantage of the necessities of Charles II. to purchase Dunkirk from the English, their only remaining possession on the Continent, of all the great territories they once enjoyed there. By the treaties of the Pyrenees, of Aix la Chapelle, and of Nimeguen, two-thirds of the towns in the Spanish Netherlands were at different times wrested from Spain by Louis; and, in the year 1672, he endeavoured to seize the rest. By the peace of Nimeguen, a right to Nanci, and to a great part of the dominions of the Duke of Lorraine, was conveyed to Louis, when he was already in possession of the whole by a grant from the Duke's father. By the same treaty, he was secured in the possession of Franche-compte. By his treaty with the Emperor in the year 1679, the town of Friburg was added to his frontier on the Rhine, with other appendages there; and, which was of more consequence, a communication between that town and Brisac. And, in a few years after the last of these treaties, he got possession of Strasburg by artifice, and of Luxemburg and Philipsburg by violence. By the judgments of the new courts

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which he erected at Metz and Brisac, to assert old claims which he pretended belonged to some of the countries that were yielded to him, and in which he summoned several free states and sovereign Princes, and even the King of Spain, to appear, he joined sundry of his territories together when they were separated by those of others: And Marechal Villars relates in his Memoirs, that in the year 1687 Louis communicated to him a plan by which he was to seize every strong place upon the Rhine from Basil to Mayence. Villars adds, that at that time the King was possessed of five bridges across the Rhine into Germany. The Cardinal Richelieu in person had taken the strong fortrefs of Pignerol in the late reign: Louis XIV. purchased the still stronger of Cassal from the Duke of Mantua. So that France hemmed in the Duke of Savoy both on the west and on the east of Piedmont, and on the first of these sides almost to Turin.

In the course of all those acquisitions, it was the general rule of the policy of Louis to dismantle, during war, all the strong places which he took; that they might be of no use to his enemies, if they should be restored at a peace; and, on the other hand, to repair their fortifications, when the accidents of treaties threw them into his hands, and to add new fortresses in new places; so that he was the first Prince in Europe, who, in imitation of Augustus, surrounded and defended the limits of his kingdom by military stations, but more permanent than those of Rome, filled with infantry and cavalry, which were kept in continual exercise, and with all military stores and provisions, from whence he could annoy his enemies in an instant, and prolong a frontier war, to keep them at a distance from himself. In the service of fortifying places, he employed Vauban, and created him a Marechal of France, knowing well that
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the first genius of Europe in the arts of fortification was worth many Generals to him, though his Generals were not only eminent in the common arts of war, but were men of great invention and genius. That engineer struck out a new invention in his art: For, instead of the high walls and towers of the ancient fortresses, which were expensive, and insured their own ruin by their own weight when shaken by batteries, he raised his defences not much above the level of the ground, and by forming them of the earth necessarily taken out to make the ditches, compassed two ends with one expence; and that expence a small one, in comparison of the cost of fortified works in former times.

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The arts of destruction, unfortunately for the human race, are too easily imitated and improved. The Dutch opposed the arts of their countryman Coehorn to those of Vauban. Other nations found or created their engineers; and Europe, from the mouth of the Var in the Mediterranean, to that of the Rhine on the Ocean, presented a theatre of countries filled with strong places, but in which those of France were the strongest. There were almost none in Spain, on account of the poverty of the kingdom; nor in England, because the people justly deemed their ships to be their best castles; and only a few in the north or west parts of France, because France, long unaccustomed to attacks in those quarters, now thought herself more safe from them than ever, by the ease with which she could carry war into the dominions of others.

When the war of the year 1688 broke out, Louis XIV. made use of all the advantages which he had taken so much pains and time to acquire. Instead of waiting to be attacked by his enemies, he sent one army into Piedmont, with the double view of harassing the Duke of Savoy in his own dominions, and the Emperor on the side of Italy; another to the Rhine to oppose the Emperor

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peror on that side; a third into Flanders to frighten Holland, and humble Spain; and stationed a fourth on the Mozelle, which could turn to the south or the north, to give assistance either to the army in Germany, or to that in the Netherlands, according as their circumstances should require. By sending Marechal Luxembourg with a fifth army into Catalonia, and the late King of England with a sixth into Ireland, he intended to throw the torch of civil discord, an instrument more mischievous in its effects than all the engines of war, into Spain and the British islands. To complete his system of an offensive war, he brought the weight of a whole empire upon the back of Germany, by fomenting the Turkish war against the Emperor's Hungarian dominions; and, although he had lain on the defensive last summer, yet that defence had still been maintained in the countries of his enemies. These six armies, in the course of the war, to the astonishment of mankind, were extended to 400,000 combatants. In such a situation, although Spain, Savoy, the Emperor, all the German Electors, with nearly the whole of the remaining Germanic body, Holland, Britain, Denmark by hiring troops to England, and locking up her trade with France, and Sweden by agreeing to hire troops to the Dutch and the Emperor; that is, all the powerful parts of Europe, were joined, soon after the grand alliance, against France; and the Poles joined the Emperor against the Turks; yet men who could trace the chain of military causes and effects, might have foreseen, that the utmost to be expected from the alliance, great as it was, was to stop Louis in the course of his acquisitions, but not to wrest them soon from him; that the war could prove only a series of sieges, or of battles to raise and protect them; that, consequently, little could be gained for a long time, and, in the end, the superiority would only remain

remain with that side which had the most patience to bear the miseries of war, or rather the least impatience at the common want of success. But the war of England with France had been so suddenly entered into, as to leave no time for inquiry or discussion, or the conclusions which might have been drawn from them; for Louis, by undertaking the cause of the late King so warmly, had forced the English to oppose France, in order to save their own liberties, and to overlook the folly of their engaging in a continental war, in which they had otherwise no interest. Besides, there were few who could trace the links of such a chain of causes and effects; because, in a country in which the roads to fortune and ambition are through civil, commercial, and maritime lines, large ranges of military views, to form which, much industry and experience, as well as genius, are required, are not to be expected; And, accordingly, although the histories of Spain, Italy, Germany, and France, be full of the characters of great Generals, and that of England full of those of great Admirals; yet, in the revolution of seven centuries, the names of no more than four or five persons, if so many, who deserve the name of Generals, are to be found in the annals of a nation, the ranks of whose armies are crowded with the bravest soldiers and officers in the world.

But, against the advantages of France in a land war, the Allies possessed greater advantages in a war at sea, if they had exerted their whole force on that element. Of these, the people of England were much better judges than of the strength of fortresses, forms of country relative to military operations, and resources of war, in foreign lands; and therefore they reasoned upon them thus, with the good sense of men who were masters of their subject: "The prodigious exertions which had been made in the times of Cromwell and Charles II. by the Dutch and English against each other, in which they in a manner

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ner covered the ocean with three hundred great ships,
and sometimes fought battles with near an hundred on
a side, proved, and to a demonstration proved, that the
maritime power of the two nations joined, and assisted
by that of Spain, might have overwhelmed that of
France; because, though the navy of Louis XIV.
was numerous, beyond what could have been expected,
yet it was the first maritime force of consequence that
France had ever exhibited, had been created almost
instantaneously, by purchasing ships, and hiring seamen
from all nations that would sell or hire them, and was
void of experience, and little tried in war. The
French trade, though in a promising, was but in a
rising state, and supported more by the encouragement
of art, and the genius of Colbert, than by its own na-
tural vigour. Their colonies were new and defenceless.
Of the only four harbours in France capable of receiv-
ing large ships, viz. Rochfort, Port L'Orient, Tou-
lon, and Brest, only the two last were fortified, and
these not so strongly as they might have been; and all
the other harbours of France were exposed to enemies
full of spirit and enterprise, because they could insult
every where with impunity. Were effectual blows
given at this critical time to the trade, the colonies, the
shipping in the harbours, and the harbours themselves,
of France, and consequently to those taxes which, in
modern times, arise almost solely from trade, and, in
modern times, almost solely support war, the maritime
power of France might be crushed, before it had time
to rear its head, and be long prevented from rearing it
afterwards." Some added, "That a war by sea was
more peculiarly natural to England, not only because
the sea is the natural element of the people, but because
the cheaper pay and clothing of a French, than of an
English army, made a land war far more expensive to

“ England than to France ; whereas the expence of sea
 “ armaments was as high to France as to England, be- PART III.
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 “ cause the pay of seamen, in ships of war, is regulated 1692.
 “ by the wages which the merchants are able to afford,
 “ and is therefore nearly equal in all trading countries;
 “ and, in all countries which do not possess naval stores
 “ at home, the expence of building and equipping navies
 “ is nearly the same.”

There were a few, but unfortunately only a few, who improved upon these ideas: They thought, that a still greater advantage was open to the Allies on the ocean, if they would combine the sea and the land war together, so as to make the first contribute to the success of the last, by transporting armies into France by sea, and thereby forcing Lewis to recal his troops from attacking others at a distance, to defend himself at home. Of the three passages into the heart of France, on the side of the strong powers of the alliance, viz. Champaign, the Low Countries, and Normandy, the Emperor could not pursue the first, in the face of one army in his front, and another on the Moselle to support it. The number of French fortresses in the Netherlands, fully garrisoned and protected by one army there, and another on the Moselle to support it, rendered the second route impossible. But the third was open; and Edward III. * had in a manner pointed the way for one, who was at the same time King of England and Stadtholder of Holland, to land with a great fleet a great army on the coast of Normandy, and to march it even to Paris, through a province open in itself, and full of grain, of grass, of straw, of animal food, of horses, of carriages, of villages, and of great towns unfortified, without any other danger than all armies run,

* See Froissart's account of Edward's expedition through Normandy to Paris, in Note 1. at the end of this book.

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who make irruptions into countries destitute either of natural or of artificial strengths.

If William did not see, in all its light, the grandeur of a project for humbling France through France itself, it is no affront to his memory : For, of all the officers formed by him or the Duke of Marlborough, there was only one, I mean the Field Marechal Earl of Stair, who thought, that the shortest and safest way to conduct a French war, was by marching directly to Paris, through countries of which he knew every foot as well as his own estate. That great man lost the friendship of the Duke of Marlborough, by pressing the project upon him in the last year of Queen Anne's war, a period when Paris was in a manner within his grasp, but recovered it, by not carrying his complaints against his General to Parliament. He lost the favour of his Sovereign, by presenting the same idea to him * upon three different occasions, but in vain, and was an enthusiast in his opinion to his dying hour.

And of ministry.

But the genius of William, truly fitted for business, which, when not at liberty to exert itself upon a great scale, could submit to make advantage of a small one, had determined him, before the battle of La Hogue, to make an attack either upon Brest or St. Malo, according as circumstances should appear most favourable, with an armament of ten thousand troops. The project was entirely his own †, and only communicated by him, but fatally for France, to his English ministers ; for the secret betrayed by these last, of an intended invasion of France, was the real cause of the intended invasion of England, which terminated in the defeat of the French fleet. After that action, the project of a descent upon the coast of France, which had been suspended in the hour of the late danger, was

* See an account of those occasions in Appendix to this book.

† Lord Nottingham's narrative,

revived by the King; but in ominous circumstances, from the nature of the English government, which obliged him to employ ministers in his service, in proportion to their parliamentary talents of harangue and intrigue, and not in proportion to their talents for the conduct of war, or for that sublime part of politics, which consists in the art of making a little state great, and great ones greater. Although Lord Nottingham, from whose office, as principal secretary of state, all orders to the fleet were sent, possessed clear parts and a clear expression, he was ignorant of sea affairs. Lord Rochester * was a man of confused parts and confused expression. The natural abilities of the Marquis of Caermarthen were great, but distracted, and perhaps lost in the detail of packing parties, in which his youth and his age had been spent. And Admiral Ruffel, at the head of the fleet, well knew, that, from his own private correspondence with the late King, his life was in the hands of that Prince, and of Lewis, if he should add injury to injury, by invading the coast of France, after defeating its fleet. Besides, Lord Caermarthen and Lord Rochester were in a secret correspondence with King James. Mr. M^cPherson has published the evidence of Lord Caermarthen's correspondence; and although, in another volume of these Memoirs, I had represented Lord Rochester as one of the few of the great who stood clear of it, yet I have since seen evidence that I was mistaken. For when I was last at Paris I saw in the Scotch College there, a letter from Lord Rochester to King James, written on silk, which, from the form of the piece, had been the inside of a woman's stomach; and I was told there were many others of his letters in the House. The correspondence between King William and his

* For the truth of this observation I appeal to his memorial to the King, in the last part of the appendix to another volume of these Memoirs.

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Queen, and English ministers, a few years after the Revolution, which I have published in a former part of this work, shew how weakly that able Prince was seconded by men, who were deemed the wisest in the nation, merely because they were possessed of the poorest of all the talents of statesmen, that of haranguing in public, not on great occasions, as the orators of Greece and Rome did, but on every occasion; an avocation from business, which they called doing business. From that correspondence it appears, that Lord Rochester, in a memorial to the King, after the battle of La Hogue, had suggested, that the fleet should be increased, not indeed with a view to conquest, or to a diversion of the enemies force, but to save money; for he proposed, that the Dutch should pay the English troops abroad, and the English, in return, add ships to their own navy, by which the money sent abroad to the army would be spent at home on the fleet. Lord Caermarthen, who writes notes on the margin of the memorial, in which his own opinions are conveyed under the cloak of stating those of others, closes in with the idea of saving money, and advises the Sovereign of England to inform an English Parliament, that he means to buy at home the bread, and broad cloth, and every other possible article for the army. One of the marginal notes bears, "That if the King would make a great descent in France, the Parliament would give any thing;" but another bears, "That the fleet cannot be increased, on account of the impossibility of it, as not having ships enough, nor seamen, unless the coast-trade was stopped." So that the ideas of pedlars' intruded themselves into the consultations of statesmen, and ended, as such a mixture always will do, in that indetermination, which is the attendant of confusion of objects. Russel, in one of his letters, and a very long one too, reproaches his Sovereign, that he had not added to his appointments, which, at the

same time, he confessed were not under 3000*l*. a-year, nor given one pension to his sister, and another to his brother, a Lieutenant-colonel, who, he tells the King, had been obliged to marry a rich widow, in order to retrieve his circumstances, hurt by his expences *.

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But notwithstanding these untoward appearances, the King persisted in his purpose of a descent upon France, and with a greater armament than had been originally projected; for it was intended to add to it † five thousand infantry, a corresponding body of cavalry, and four thousand seamen, to make part of the descent; and for greater objects than were originally intended; because it was known, that twenty-six ships of war, by being lightened of their guns, had taken refuge in St. Maloes after the defeat of La Hogue; that the whole ships of war of France were separated from each other in different ports of the Channel and of the Bay of Biscay; that the vast fleet of transports, which were to have landed twenty thousand troops, with the late King, in England, were trembling from fear of their own destruction, under the weak protections of La Hogue and Havre de Grace; and that even the future hopes of France of a navy might be cut off, because a great number of ships of war on the stocks, or equipping at Port L'Orient and Rochfort, were exposed to be easily destroyed in those harbours. Repeated orders were given to Russel to attack St. Maloes: The other objects of service were presented to his view at different times: Lord Nottingham endeavoured, by letters, to animate him to complete the late glories he had gained, and to annihilate the maritime power of France in one summer, by the sentiments of duty, honour, vanity, interest, and the friendship between them. But Russel took advantage of some expressions of this last, to call in ques-

Intended descent upon France.

* Appendix to a future book of these Memoirs.

† Lords Report, 17th July, in Journals of this year.

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tion its sincerity, and pretending to take offence where none was intended, perplexed business by the confusion which accompanies bad humour. As long as Russell, before the battle of La Hogue, had been in public *, advising a descent at St. Maloes, but with a secret view of leaving a free passage for the French fleet, in the mean time, to land the late King in England, he had declared the attempt upon St. Maloes to be easy; and he even continued to do so for some time after the battle. But when he found his advice was likely to be followed, he pretended to find every thing difficult. He had made no complaints when only ten thousand troops were destined for the service; but when the hour of entering upon it came, he complained that a body of more than twenty thousand men, composed of infantry, cavalry, and seamen, was too little for its safety. But as cunning for ever betrays itself, he exposed his intention to do nothing, by proposing to send an armament nearly as great as that with which William had won three kingdoms, to bring off seven hundred iron guns, which the French had saved from their burnt ships at La Hogue, and were then lying on the beach there †.

In

* Burchet and Russell's letters to Lord Nottingham, of the 13th May, in Commons Journals, p. 750 of this year.—Second vol. of these Memoirs.

† The words of his letter to Lord Nottingham, before the battle, of date the 13th May, were, "Our troops may embark and land at St. Maloes; which place, by the best information, is easily taken, while the fleet lies to the westward to protect it. This may oblige the French to a battle; and if we beat them, we may follow them (not as they did us, but) into their harbours, and embarking the soldiers, go for Brest, and do a lasting service to England." The words of his letter soon after the battle, of the 27th of May, are: "Now is the time, if you were able, to make the descent: The people here are under so great a consternation, that notwithstanding the late King's camp was pitched, and the Union flag flying, as also the French, with a white one, I really believe that ten thousand men might have marched forty miles without any great resistance." And on June 13th he writes: "Something must be attempted to destroy them: To effect

In the mean time, ignorant of these things, the spirits and hopes of people in England were elevated, in proportion to their late depression, when the danger of the invasion hung over them. The flames of the hulls and cordage of the French ships of war and transports, the falling of magazines and arsenals, the blowing up of docks and harbours, and the alarms of the inhabitants of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Seine, were

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Agitation in
the spirits
of men.

“ effect which, the land army may be of great use to us, though I suppose
“ the forces the late King had near La Hogue, will be all drawn to St. Maloes to protect them : When I consider what advantage this additional
“ blow to the enemy may be to England, I cannot think that the possession
“ of two provinces in France will be equal to it; and I believe your Lordship
“ will be of my opinion : Wherefore it is highly necessary, that the utmost
“ endeavours should be used to perform so important a service.”

Lord Nottingham, June 29th, wrote thus to Admiral Ruffel : “ Our
“ troops are so posted, that they will be embarked in a few days, and immediately sail to join you. I believe there will be about 12,000, besides
“ dragoon, as there will be, if the ships were come from Millford.”

Ruffel, on the 4th July, answered him thus : “ Just now I received your
“ letter of the 29th of June. I cannot now answer every particular; but
“ this I may, without much consideration : If the number you design to
“ land, do not exceed twelve thousand men, as you write, it will be of no
“ use at St. Maloes; that place (of men belonging to the land and sea) affording double that number fit to bear arms : If these be all you can have
“ to make the descent, I think the best use you can make of them is, to
“ land at La Hogue, and take away the cannon, Captain Mees writes me
“ word, they have got up from the ships there destroyed : For, doubtless,
“ this number will signify little against any part of France, where any
“ strength is lodged.”

Ruffel could not fail to know, from the beginning, that there were not above 15,000 troops in the whole kingdom.

A week after the date of this letter, to wit, on the 13th July, a council of war gave the following opinion : “ We do think a squadron of ships, in
“ the summer season, may be ventured to lie before St. Maloes, to cover the
“ ships of transportation, in case there be a descent designed near the place;
“ provided the whole fleet be posted so as to secure them from any attempt
“ of the enemy westward.”

That the guns proposed to be brought off with a great army and fleet were from ordnance, and seven hundred in number, appears from Lord Nottingham's letter of 17th July,—Vid. Inquiry in Journals of Parliament this year.

seen

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seen or heard in the imaginations of all; and even those who in England often love their country when they hate their King, owned, with a mixture of exultation and discontent, that the useless glories of the Edwards and Henrys in the interior parts of France, were likely to be eclipsed by the more solid advantages of the thunders of England, hurled by an usurper upon the French sea-coasts. These agitations were increased by an accident: The fleet having sailed at one time, and the transports at another, anxiety and fear, which in great situations always present the dark side of objects, suggested, that they might miss each other in the ocean, or the transports meet with disasters when not assisted and protected by the fleet. Accounts arrived, two days after, that the transports and fleet had met at sea, and that the navy and land officers were sitting in a joint council of war, to regulate the mode of disembarkation. With these, the tide of hopes and joy returned; but it was short lived: Next day an express arrived from Russel, that he had brought back the fleets to England, after the troops had been three days on board. He had had the address and influence to prevail with the council of war, which was thought in England to have been sitting on far other business, to concur with him in an opinion, which inferred, rather than averred, that the season of the year was too late for expeditions on the coast of France, though that season was no later than the 28th day of July. The account was received by the public, not as was expected, but with a stupid insensibility; for the disappointment was so sudden and so great as to overwhelm the power of rage or grief.

Admiral
Russel re-
moved.

The mind of William alone continued master of itself: Accustomed to draw some good from the greatest evils, he ordered the troops, without being disembarked, to be sent to him in Flanders, to meet those enemies in
another

another country, whom they hoped in vain to have encountered in their own. Soon after, he removed Ruffel from the command of the fleet, which he conferred upon Killigrew, Delaval, and Shovel jointly; trusting, according to his usual generous policy, to the honour of the two first, while, by public fame, and probably with justice *, their loyalty was suspected; but with the reserve of a prudent policy, that the last should be a check upon both.

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With equal ability the French King turned his own misfortune at La Hogue to his advantage. Few of his seamen had been lost at that place, their escape having been favoured by the keenness of the English seamen to destroy the ships. He put the rest on board the transports which had been intended for the invasion of England, converted these into privateers, and infested the seas with their depredations. Such of the English merchantmen as ventured to sea were taken: The rest, warned by the example, continued at home. It was computed, that in the course of the war, fifteen hundred English ships had been taken, valued at three millions

Sufferings
of trade.

* Among the papers published by Mr. M^rPherson, there is a memorial from King James's adherents to one of the French ministers. The paper is not signed, but from the last paragraph it seems to have been written by no inconsiderable persons. The memorial contains these words; "Be-
" fides, his Majesty has the two Admirals, who command the fleet, and
" who are in correspondence with him, and from whom his Majesty may
" expect every advantage. First, they have been trained up by his Majesty,
" and owe their fortunes to him, and expect more from him than the
" Prince of Orange will ever give them, and therefore, they have greater
" expectations from his Majesty; moreover, they hate the Prince of
" Orange, on account of the insolence, of which they think he has been
" guilty towards the nation; and lastly, they have reason to fear they will
" be sacrificed to the Parliament, in order to save the Prince of Orange,
" who will not fail to blame them for the loss of the Smyrna fleet. Dela-
" val depends entirely upon the King; and Killigrew, the second in com-
" mand, depends upon the Earl of Danby, who is for the King."

Vide also Sir John Fenwick's confession.

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sterling*. The same use was not made against the French trade, of the vessels intended for the descent upon France, either from the nature of the English government, which makes the shipping of the merchants dependent upon contract alone, or because the King's English councils did not think of it, and his own time and thoughts were occupied on the Continent. The object of Russel's fleet having failed, and no others presenting themselves, it remained inactive the rest of the summer. So that the trade of Britain was suspended, her seamen thrown idle, and her shipping, both of peace and of war, laid up in harbour near a year.

Campaign.

The war in Flanders this summer was equally unfortunate for William: Namur was taken in his sight, and the battle of Steinkirk lost, in which he commanded. The first of these events was made remarkable by two circumstances; the one, that the works were defended by Coehorn, who had contrived and constructed them, and were attacked by Vauban; and therefore these two great rivals in science and art, displayed against each other all the powers of their minds, to determine the rank of genius between them. But a wound received by Coehorn during the siege, which disabled him from acting, determined the point of success, but not the question, who was entitled to it. The other was, that the siege was covered by the King of France, and attempted to be raised by the King of England, each at the head of an army of fourscore thousand men, who lay long near to, and often in sight of each other, while the nations around stood in painful expectation of the event. But Louis XIV. whose character is marked by an opinion which he sanctified by his practice through the first and the greatest part of his reign, that the best talent is

* Journals of Commons of this year, 16th November.

to make use of the talents of other men, brought Mar-
 rescchal Luxembourg, under the name of commanding
 under him, to conduct his army. By the counsels of
 that General, he eluded all the arts of William to force
 him to a battle, or to cut off his resources; and shewed
 he deserved success, by allowing another to take the
 honour of it. The other event was marked by the
 valour, almost divine, of the English troops, and their
 great loss of men, through the fault of Count Solmes,
 their commander, who was said to have disliked the
 English, because their free spirit, which he called a
 mutinous one, would not submit to German subordina-
 tion; and who left them exposed, when it was reported
 he might have supported them with foreign troops. This
 circumstance, by raising animosity in England against
 foreigners, created afterwards much uneasiness to the
 King; although he, who seldom shed tears of sympathy
 but in battle, had often cried out with a generous agony
 during the action, "O my poor English, how they are
 "abandoned!"

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In the course of the campaign, a plot was laid to as-
 sassinate him, by one Grandval, who was executed for it.
 The furies of party in England fixed the imputation of
 the crime upon King James, and even upon Louis XIV.
 and some of his deceased and living ministers: And
 party derived some advantage from it, to animate the
 nation against France and the late King, and in favour
 of William, who was said to be exposed in the cause of
 England. The King was too generous to pretend a be-
 lief of the imputation, and too politic to deny it.

Project to
 assassinate
 the Kings

In the rest of Europe, the state of the war continued
 as undetermined as ever. The Duke of Savoy broke,
 like one of the rapid rivers of his country, down upon
 Dauphiny, wasted the open country, and took several
 towns; but falling ill of the small-pox, was stopped in

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his course, and returned to his own dominions. The French kept possession of the part of Catalonia next to France, but without proceeding further, from the want of roads and provisions in Spain. On the Rhine, the French, under the Marechal de Lorges, besides other advantages, gained a great battle at Speerbach, in which the Duke of Wirtemberg was taken prisoner, but which they did not carry into consequence; because Louis, instead of pressing the Emperor on that side, found it more his interest to let him carry his armies into Hungary, and waste them against the Turks. In that quarter alone the arms of the Emperor had a decided superiority; but which he rendered of no use, by refusing reasonable terms of peace when offered to him there, from an obstinacy and pride, which were worth victories to France.

A regular
opposition
in Parlia-
ment.

After the alternate successes of the summer, the King returned to England to convene his Parliament in November. One of Lord Caermarthen's marginal notes, upon Lord Rochester's memorial above mentioned, is in the following words: " Lord Cornwallis says, had the Parliament met when summoned this summer upon the victory at sea, they would have given any thing: English people being puffed up with success, which when forgot, as it soon is, their zeal will cool; so that consequently, by this time, it will be forgot quite, which will prove of ill consequence to your affairs." The observation was just: The King, by meeting his Parliament soon after the battle of the Boyne, had obtained, and with ease, whatever he asked; but by delaying to assemble Parliament for near seven months after the battle of La Hogue, he lost all the effects of the victory. The interval gave time for Lord Marlborough, who was engaged at what he called the King's ingratitude to the Whigs and to himself, and whose favour with the next heir to the throne, high character in his profession, and
above

above all, whose power of industry and intrigue made his influence, though he was only a soldier, and in prison, be felt in every line of life in the kingdom, to prepare a regular and concerted opposition in Parliament. The Lords Huntingdon and Scarfsdale had been committed to the Tower at the same time with him, on charges of high treason; but some doubts were entertained of the legality, both of the commitments and of the continuance of them. Taking advantage of this circumstance, and of former and recent events, Lord Marlborough hoped that he should provoke the Whigs, by the preference given to the Tories in places of trust; the Peers, in defence of the privileges of their order, injured in his person and those of his two friends; the officers, by the slaughter of their countrymen at Steinkirk, pride of rank, jealousy of foreigners, and antipathy to foreign command; the merchants, by their losses; men of sense, by the imprudence of sending great and expensive English armies to a continental war, when their country was left unprotected against invasions at home; and the people, by the hatred and envy which they always bear to their superiors.

The effect of these preparations appeared as soon as Parliament was opened. The Peers, instead of paying the common compliment of an address of thanks to the King for his speech, delayed it for a fortnight; and, in the mean time, instantly entered upon an inquiry into the commitment of the three Lords. The legality of the commitment was referred to the opinion of the judges, who deemed it to be legal. But the King was too wise to let the strength of parties be tried, as Charles I. and Charles II. had too often imprudently done, upon abstract questions between the rights of the King and of the people, where the utmost he could hope for would be a few declaratory words in his favour, of which the public,

Complaint
of the com-
mitment of
Lord Marl-
borough
and other
Peers.

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1691.

Inquiry into
miscarriages
by sea,

public, who were both judges and parties, would continually complain, quashed the dispute, by ordering the Lords to be set at liberty.

The Houses next attacked the King's Tory administration, by an inquiry into the causes of the miscarriages by sea. In the heat of party and passion, natural to all popular assemblies, and which, therefore, makes their compliments or censure, for the most part, of little consequence in the eyes of posterity; Admiral Russel, protected by the Whig party, because himself a Whig, and because he had been displaced from his command by the King, received from the House of Commons an honourable testimony of his conduct, in a battle which he had not meant to fight, and in an invasion of France, which he had intentionally disappointed. The prosecution of Lord Nottingham was more serious, because the whole Whig party joined in a cry against him, and because the Tories, fretted by miscarriages during his administration, gave him only a feeble protection. But he escaped, from the nature of all parliamentary inquiries, which give time for the keenness of friends to increase, the resentment of enemies to subside, and the indolence of all to indulge itself*.

and into the
complaints
of the offi-
cers.

The Peers, taking advantage of an expression in the King's speech, in which he had paid an unmeaning compliment to the *advice* of Parliament, presented what they called an *address of advice* to the King†; in which they desired, that the commanding officer of the English abroad, next to the King, should be a native of his dominions; a regulation which, while it seemed to strike only at Count Solmes, shews the extent of Lord Marlborough's views, who foresaw he might one day claim the benefit of it; that the English officers should command officers of equal rank in the confederate army, ex-

* Lords Protests, 21st December 1691.

† Lords Journals, 18th February.

cept those of crowned heads, without regard to the dates of commissions; a regulation which, by the exception it contained, was levelled at the Dutch; that twenty thousand English soldiers should remain in England, to be commanded by one of the King's subjects; and that no seat at the board of ordnance should be bestowed on a foreigner. The Commons, in a resolution for an address, added, that the vacancies for general officers should be filled up with natives of the King's dominions. The subject touched the King on too tender a part; and therefore he answered dryly to the Lords, "that he would consider the matter of it." The answer, probably, shewed the Commons, that they had either gone too far, or that their going further could have no consequence; and therefore they did not turn their resolutions into an address.

The particular view of that part of the address which desired twenty thousand English soldiers to be kept in England, commanded by an English general, has only lately been brought to light. Lord Marlborough's original plan, in concert with King James, was to prevail with Parliament, to send all the foreign counsellors, and the foreign forces, which were above five thousand, in London, out of England, and then, by taking advantage of their absence, to make the late King's return to England more safe. But some of the late King's party, who knew not that the plan was concerted with their master, believing it was intended to please the Princess Anne, and to serve the ambition of her favourite Marlborough, and not her father, informed Lord Portland of the intention, and thereby enabled him to counteract it*.

The

* King James's account of this matter, in a memorial to Louis XIV. is in these words: "My friends designed last year to recall me by the Parliament. The plan was concerted, and Lord Churchill was to propose in
"Parliament,

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BOOK I.1692.
Vote against
Tories.Attempt to
obstruct
supplies.

The Whigs in the House of Commons aimed a blow at the Tories, by a vote for an address to the King, "to employ in his counsels and the management of his affairs, such persons only whose principles oblige them to stand by him, and his right, against the late King James, and all other pretenders whatsoever." But the Tories eluded the blow, by concurring in a resolution which they said did not affect them.

The opposition party made an attempt, in the House of Lords, which was begun by the Marquis of Halifax and Lord Mulgrave, to obstruct the supplies, and thus stop the wheels of government altogether, by creating and fomenting a quarrel between the Houses on the common land-tax bill: They prevailed with the Lords to assert a right to tax themselves, and to ingraft a clause for that purpose on the bill, when sent to their House by the Commons. The House of Commons took the alarm in an instant, and unanimously declared against the innovation. But the intention of starting the question was too apparent: Suspicions arose that it had been concerted with the friends of the late King: Its serving France, by throwing discord into an English Parliament, provoked all. And therefore it was dropped, not without some shame, and perhaps some compunction, in those who had set it on foot. The attempt to ob-

"Parliament, to drive all strangers out of the council and army, and even out of the kingdom. If the Prince of Orange had consented to that proposal, they would have had him in their power. If he had rejected it, he would have made the Parliament declare against him: and, at the same time, Lord Churchill, with the army, was to declare for the Parliament; the fleet was to do the same, and I was to be recalled. They had already begun to execute this project, and had gained a considerable party, when some loyal subjects, who were indiscreet, believing that they served me, and imagining that what my Lord Churchill did was not on my account, but on account of the Princess of Denmark, had the imprudence to discover the whole to Bentinck, and thereby diverted the blow." *M'Pherson's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 440,

fruct public service proved fortunate for it. The whigs, seeing they were likely to become unpopular for what they had done, did not, in the further course of the session, oppose the supplies. The number of seamen was raised to 33,000 *.

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BOOK I.

1692.

The fate of a bill for disabling members of future parliaments to hold offices under government, shewed the indifference with which individuals could, at that time, give up their own interests, to serve those of their party. A bill which, if proposed at present, would set all parliament in a flame, passed the house of commons without one contradictory voice, and was rejected in the house of lords by two only; circumstances which are commonly referred to as proofs, either that there was much virtue among parliament men at that time, or, which is next to it, that they wished to have it thought so; but which, perhaps, prove only, that the personal economy of our ancestors was greater, and the offices of government fewer, and of less consequence than they are now. The opposition brought the bill into the house of commons to make themselves popular; the court party assented, to rob them of the advantage: Near one half of the peers voted for the bill, to shew they were independent of the King; it was rejected by the rest, because their hereditary seats in parliament made them independent of the mob.

Though this bill went through the House of Commons without much argument, because there was much affectation and little sincerity in the conduct of it; yet the public entered keenly into reasonings upon its merit. But while some defended it on the common topic, that the disposal of offices among the members of the houses gives an undue influence to the crown over them; and

* Commons Journals, 1st December.

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some attacked it on the common topics, that since the territorial weight of the crown had been lost for centuries, and the prerogative power of the crown had sunk suddenly in the reign of Charles I. new influences, of some sort or other, were become necessary to prevent the regal from being over-balanced by the popular part of the constitution; there were men who reasoned, or might have reasoned on deeper principles: For, on the one hand, it was no extravagance to say, though at first sight it might seem so, that the struggle for places and honours in England is in modern times the chief cause of the liberties of England; because the surest road for men of parts and fair ambition, to force the employment of their talents into the service of government, is through their popularity: But they cannot become popular, without continual efforts to obtain popular laws, which, when they arrive at power, they cannot recal, or are ashamed to make the attempt. On the other hand, it was or might have been lamented, that the same war for places and honours which serves public liberty, hurts public interest: That in Rome, the annual change of power made it the interest of those who aimed at it to promote the public service, even in the hands of their rivals, in order to recommend themselves to that public favour, on which their hopes of succeeding to them in a year or two depended, and in order to be able to perform the public service with the more glory to themselves, when they were so soon to fill the places of others; for which, the examples of Lucullus, Sylla, Cæsar, and others, might be appealed to, who conquered kingdoms abroad, for those who were impeaching them at home: Whereas in England, the power of the crown to commit the care of the public service to whom it pleases, and for as long time as it pleases, leaves no alternative for those who wish to be employed in it, but to pull down their rivals; at home,

by

by obstructing their measures; abroad, by creating a suspicion of the stability of their councils; and every where, by taking advantage of their fears, in attempting any thing that is new, however useful it may be; and by traducing the political characters of the ministers of government, to fix the imputation of weakness or wickedness upon government itself. But those perhaps were the wisest, who, seeing and owning all these disadvantages, thought, that though every thing was not good in the political state of England, yet every thing was better than any where else.

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1692.

A bill equally hostile to the power of the crown, which provided for annual sessions of parliament, and that it should not be in the discretion of the crown to prolong the same parliament beyond three years, passed both houses. The bill, though popular, raised dislike in some against a precedent, which pointed at fixing any duration to parliaments whatsoever. It was said, " That
 " to permit members of parliament to tamper with their
 " own sittings, and their own duration, was dangerous,
 " because it was making them judges in their own
 " cause: The same breath of opinion which made them
 " limit their duration to three years might make them,
 " for their own interest, extend it to seven: The use of
 " septennial, would set a precedent for that of vicennial
 " parliaments; and by that single alteration in a statute,
 " the responsibility of ministers to future parliaments,
 " and of members to their constituents, being removed,
 " English parliaments would become, like the senates of
 " the Roman emperors, mere engines of power, but
 " more unwieldy and intricate in their movements, and
 " the liberties of England be laid for ever in the dust:
 " And that therefore it was safer to leave the duration of
 " parliaments to the discretion of the crown, which, if
 " abused, the spirit of the people could controul, than

Bill for triennial parliaments.

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1692.

“ to statutes, which, whether right or wrong, it be-
“ haved all to obey.” The King refused his assent to
the bill, for the wisest reason which a foreigner could
assign, “ That as he found the English constitution to
“ be the best in the world when he saved it, he would
“ not presume to try to make it better.”

1693.

Inquiry into
mismanage-
ment in
Ireland.

The houses lastly proceeded upon an inquiry into the
mismanagement of the King's government in Ireland.
Here the numbers of complaints arose, as commonly
happens, in proportion to the favour with which they
were received ; and informations acquired dignity from
being made in public, which those who gave them would
have scorned to communicate in private. But most of
them were true ; the cause of which was, that no par-
liament had been assembled in Ireland for twenty-seven
years, unless the disorderly meeting of the late King's
popish adherents, in the chambers of parliament, can be
called one ; and nations which are accustomed to look up
for redress of grievances, to their public assemblies, are
more exposed than others to public disorders, when those
guardians of order can defend them no longer. It was
given in evidence at the bar of the house of lords, that
the Irish privy council, assuming military as well as civil
powers, had hanged a man without trial, because, by
advice of a priest, he had refused to adhere to a con-
fession made in council against his accomplices in a
murder ; and that the soldiers, not regularly paid, lived
at free quarter, forced money from the inhabitants for
subsistence and clothing, and fixed prices as they pleased ;
and that their extortions were believed to amount to
200,000*l*. Lady Cromwell, Countess of Ardglass, from
a chair at the table of the house of peers, in which she
was indulged, as well as in giving her evidence upon
honour and not upon oath, because she was a peeress,
told the lords, that when she offered coals and wood at
low

low rates to Villars, a lieutenant-colonel of dragoons, for his regiment, he answered, "No; he should need no firing as long as there was a house upon the estate," and pulled down her houses to use the timbers for fuel. These oppressions were imputed to causes deeper than the common disorders attendant upon armies, when conscious that they have mankind at their mercy, from imprudent expressions of Mr. Pultney, clerk to the privy council, and of Mr. Davis, another dependent upon administration; for the one said in the house of commons, That, "if parliament did not find supplies for the troops, the troops would find free quarters for themselves;" and the other, that, "if the commons would give no money, they should have no parliament."

The military stores of the late King were embezzled to the extent of above 100,000*l.*; of the personal estates of the rebels, in value 135,000*l.* only 10,000*l.*; was accounted for; their real estates were let on leases three-fourths below their former value: And the profit of these frauds was divided, under the cover of the names of other persons, mostly among those who had been appointed to prevent them; to wit, Lord Conningsby, one of the two lords justices, the commissioners of forfeited estates, those of the revenue, and even the lord chief baron, and two others of the judges. The mode of bestowing the leases gave more provocation than the preferences bestowed; for though the auctions were open, only those persons were permitted to bid, who were intended to be favoured; and therefore the appearance of justice seemed to add mockery to the want of it. But the behaviour of Mr. Culliford, one of the commissioners of the revenue, who was attacked in the house of commons for the share of profit which he drew from leases taken contrary to his duty, joined personal to political insult, when he conveyed an insinuation to the house,

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house, that his privilege, as a member of the English parliament, protected him from answering to such charges in Ireland.

Even accident sometimes presented occasion for provocation; for protections from debt having been bought from men in power by many Roman Catholics, under pretence that they had been in rebellion, and as such were intitled to protection by the articles of Limerick; it sometimes happened, that while the officers of law were committing protestants to prison for debts, those persons were coming out of it. This contrast between the fates of the prisoners, struck the senses of spectators, the imaginations of the absent, when they heard of it, and the rage and pity of the multitude. They exclaimed against a government which allowed protestants to be committed to prison for debts, who had fought for government, when those papists were freed of them, who had fought, or by the aid of perjury and bribery had pretended to have fought, against it. The affectation of silence in men connected with power, when questioned, why they gave so many protections from debt to pretended rebels, was more alarming than the avowal of bad reasons could have been; because secrecy always creates suspicion that there is too good a cause for it. Mr. Culliford's answer, when questioned upon such subjects, was, that "these were *arcana imperii* which he "was not at liberty to explain*."

All these injuries, real or exaggerated, were made more bitter to those of high rank in Ireland, by the same circumstance, which was seen in our day in Scotland in the last rebellion, and soon after it, and which will be seen in every country where there is a war of government with its subjects. The more generous, who complained

* Journals of the English houses this year.

of the injuries of armies and officers, were privately introduced at court, and in the closets of ministers in England, as enemies to the King; and those mean men who, with indifference, saw their country insulted, were honoured and rewarded as his only friends.

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In this inauspicious state of things, Lord Sidney had gone over lord lieutenant of Ireland; but presuming on his being the King's only English favourite, and intoxicated with sudden power, he lost that temper in prosperity, which his master had never lost in adversity. Instead of letting bills for supplies originate in the Irish house of commons, he sent two bills to the house which had been drawn by the privy council of Ireland, transmitted to England, and approved there; the one, a bill for a new excise upon beer; and the other, a tax upon corn-lands, in a country where a land-tax had never been known: Unpopular bills, because they affected the drink and the food of the people, and unpopularly introduced. Fired with the love of that freedom which they had vindicated against one King, the Irish extended the spirit of it to another, and asserted, that no money bills could be brought into parliament which had not originated in parliament itself; and the commons substituted a bill for a poll-tax in their places. They prepared other bills, popular, wise, and just; and among others, a bill for a law, which was the thought of a divinity in pity to human kind, a *habeas corpus* law. Lord Sidney reprimanded the House, suddenly dismissed the parliament without doing business of any kind, by which he lost the intended supplies, and returned to England in little more than two months after he had left it. His departure was marked by strong features of passion; for Sir Arthur Rawdon, with five other members of character and fortune, having, from civility, asked his permission to do what they could have done without it;

Lord Sidney's government in Ireland.

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that is, to send agents to wait on the King on the affairs of the protestants of Ireland; he answered, that "he knew no better agent for the protestant interest than the King himself, who, to his knowledge, had been so for these twenty years past; but if they desired to go to England to ask his Majesty's pardon for their riotous meetings, they might do it, and he hoped they might succeed in it." And to take from himself the excuse of an unpremeditated answer, he turned it into a deliberate act, by ordering his own imprudence, in the answer, to be recorded in the council-book. Immediately after, Lord Sidney dismissed Sir Arthur Rawdon from the government of his county; but two noblemen, whom he successively appointed to fill his place, refused to accept. With the same impotent marks of disgrace, he sent the clerk of the privy-council to demand from the King's prime and second serjeant their commissions, for their conduct in parliament: One of them, holding in his hand one commission which, from the terms of it, could be taken from him, and another which could not, bid the clerk "take which he pleased."

A very strong remonstrance on these subjects was presented to the King in England by the peers, and another prepared by the commons. But the King, either seeing that the injuries of Ireland were too wide, and involved too many offenders, to be punished; or he, who was an indulgent and steady friend, remembering his obligations to Sidney for past services, interrupted the inquiry by a prorogation of parliament on the 14th of March, and soon after went to Holland*.

Affairs of
Scotland.

The external quality of an English monarch, is height, but of his ministers, moderation of spirit; because a

* Journals of the English houses this year.

Prince,

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BOOK I.
1693.

Prince, who has no power but what the laws give him, is obliged to assume the appearance of state; and because, on that very account, freemen will generously bear from him what they will not submit to from their equals: And hence the history of England shews, that her Princes have been more obliged to the temper, than to the talents of their servants. This truth was seen in the contrast between the fate of the King's affairs this year in Ireland and in Scotland. The King took the public appearance of his confidence from Sir John Dalrymple, who was now, by the death of his father, become Viscount of Stair, because he was unpopular on account of the affair of Glenco, and was thought to be too bold in his ideas, merely because they were superior to those of other men, and gave it to the Earl of Tweeddale, lord chancellor, and to the Duke of Hamilton, whom he appointed his commissioner to parliament; one of whom was by nature a man of mild manner and temper, and the other by art was courteous to all, because he was conscious that his distance of rank secured him from the danger of losing ground by condescension. These ministers, by very different arts from those of Lord Sidney, prevailed with a discontented parliament, in discontented times, to contrive new oaths for the security of government; to impose taxes sufficient for its support; to make him an offer, common enough in Scottish parliaments, of pressing recruits to fill up vacancies in his regiments, and to increase his army with two regiments of cavalry, and four of infantry*. But the difficulties in which Lord Sidney had involved his master, by losing the Irish supplies, forced the King † to divert the money intended for raising troops in Scotland, for the use of those of Ireland. So that of three

* Gazette, May 4, 1693.

† Burnet,

1693.

kingdoms, one poor kingdom gave aid to another, and the third, if we may believe the publications of the times, despised both, and pitied neither*.

* Vide a very extraordinary report against Ireland in the Journals of the house of commons, 12th January this year, and the subsequent conduct of England to the Scots colony at Darien.—The report is in the following words:

“ It is notorious, that not an Irishman who was in Ireland during the late rebellion, and capable of being guilty thereof, either by being actually in arms, or by aiding, abetting, and assisting the rebels, is innocent: So that the only persons presumed to be so, are either such as continued in England during the whole time, of which there are not above three or four known; or infants of such an age as could not capacitate them to bear arms, or abet or assist the rebels: In both which cases, it is to be noted, that the heirs, or next in remainder, may have been, and probably were, in rebellion.

“ Fifty-two rebellions, which the Irish have been guilty of, may sufficiently evince, that nothing can reconcile the implacable hatred of them to the British nation; and the only way of securing that kingdom to the crown of England is, the putting it out of the power of the Irish again to rebel; gentle means having hitherto always proved ineffectual; and the favour they received after being conquered in one rebellion, always laid a foundation for the next.”

From those premises the report forms this conclusion:

“ In order to which, it is humbly proposed, that the selling all the forfeited estates of that kingdom, not remitted by the articles of Gallway and Limeric, to protestants, will so strengthen the protestant, and weaken the popish interest of that kingdom, that future rebellions will, with more ease, thereby be prevented, than otherwise they can.”

Appendix, No. I.

Froissart, whose relations are written with the simple charms of Xenophon, and, like his, are full of manners and picture, and who lived in the time of Edward III. gives the following particulars of his expedition. It was originally intended for Gascony, to raise the siege of Aiguillon, then besieged by the King of France's son at the head of one hundred thousand men. But Edward's fleet being prevented by cross winds from getting into the ocean, he was persuaded by Godfrey of Harcourt, a French rebel lord, who was with him, that the best way to raise the siege, was by invading Normandy. The argument which Godfrey made use of, was in the following words: That Normandy was one of the most plentiful countries in the world; that the people were little used to war, and those who were, were occupied at the siege of Aiguillon; and that he would find many great towns, but without walls. Upon this account Edward turned his fleet to La Hogue. His army consisted of ten thousand archers, an equal number of Welsh and Irish, who,

who, in that age, were used as light troops, and four thousand men at arms, who were the cavalry of the age, and each of whom carried three horses with him, if it be true that the English men at arms were composed in the same way with the French, each of whom, as the historian Guicciardin relates, had three horses with him. Edward was accompanied by the prime nobility of England, and by his eldest son, afterwards the Black Prince, then a youth, to animate the army by the preciousness of their pledge, and to form the youth to the love of great actions by seeing great scenes. When the King landed, he fell. His attendants wished him to return to his ship, and not to land his army that day, because the fall was ominous. He answered, with a ready presence of mind, that the ground of France had showed her fondness to receive him, and he accepted her embraces. He stopped for some time to take the towns of Barfleur, Cherbourg, Montbourg, and other towns on the sea coast, with the then strong fort of Caen, in order to secure places of refuge to his fleet, and of retreat to his army. Such prisoners as were rich or warlike he sent over to England in his ships, which were continually passing, that he might be sure of the ransom, common in those days, of the one class of men, and be safe from the insurrections of the other behind him when he quitted Normandy. His march was along the Seine, to procure water-carriage for his baggage, and secure one of his flanks. He divided his army into three bodies, which marched separately in the day-time, to cover more country, but were encamped at night, so as to be able to give aid to each other, if attacked; and for that purpose, his own quarters were always in the centre of the camp. But he passed the walled towns without besieging them, that "he might not" (as Froissart says) "waste his army and artillery." In his march, Froissart says, that "he found" (precisely as would be found at this day) "the country full of grain, carts, and waggons, horses, swine, sheep, and other beasts; their houses full of riches, rich burgesses, and much drapery." He came within a few miles of Paris, burning some villages around, but did not attack it, because the King of France protected it with a strong army posted at St. Denis, and disease had infected the English army. Being afraid of want of provisions if he returned through a country which he had wasted, he took his route through Picardy, the magazine of grain of France, as Normandy is her magazine for animal food. But the bridges of the Seine being broke down by the enemy, he threw a bridge of boats over the river at Poissy. The country of Picardy not being at that time so well known as it is now, he had difficulty to find a ford in the Somme; but when he found it, and that it was defended, he forced it by an unexpected attack. The enemy hung upon his retreat with more than one hundred thousand men, and he had not the eighth part of the number.

He retreated till he found a very strong post, just large enough to draw up his army, and defended by nature every where, except in his front, which he left open for the enemies to pass, and then stopped to receive them, and relieve the fatigues of his army. Early in the morning of the day of the battle he rose, paid his devotions in private, and when the sun rose, he repeated them in public with his whole army, to the God of battles. He then rode

PART III. from rank to rank, encouraging his men (as Froissart says) "with kind
 Book I. " words and cheerful looks;" and made them recruit their spirits with meat
 1693. and drink, and rest themselves in their ranks on the ground, while the ene-
 mies were approaching. He posted all the horses behind, and placed their
 riders, with the infantry, in the narrow and strong ground of his station.

The battle was gained by the English archers, who, in that age, were deemed the best in the world. Froissart says, "their arrows fell thick as
 " snow among the French." Often attacked, and often victorious, they
 never quitted their ground to pursue, till the enemy fled every where; and
 even then the main body went not, but the light troops to complete the de-
 feat, who stabbed all whom they overtook with short daggers, through the
 openings of the armour which covered their bodies. The English army had
 been drawn up in three bodies behind each other, to give and receive support
 the more easily; the young Prince commanding the first line, and the King
 the last, who took his station on a height at a wind-mill, to have the better
 view of both armies. The Prince's line being sore pressed; Froissart relates
 what happened in the following words, which I copy from the old English
 translation by Lord Berners, because it has all the simple air of the original.
 " Than the seconde batayle of the Englyshmen came to socour the Prince's
 " batayle, the whiche was tyme, for they had as than moche ado, and they
 " with y: Prince sent a messanger to the Kynge, who was on a lytell wynd-
 " myll hyll: Than the Knyght sayd to the Kynge, Sir, therle of Warwyke,
 " and therle of Cafort, Sir Reynolde Cobham, and other suche as be about
 " the Prince, your sonne, ar feerfly fought with all, and are sore handled;
 " Wherefore they desyre you, that you and your batayle wolke come and
 " ayde them; for if the Frenchmen encrease, as they dout they woll, your
 " sonne and they shall have moche a do. Than the Kynge sayd, is my
 " sonne deed, or hurt, or on the yerthe fallen? No, Sir, quoth the knyght,
 " but he is hardly matched; wherefore he hathe nede of your ayde: Well,
 " sayde the Kynge, retournę to him, and to them that sent you hyther, and
 " say to them, that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth,
 " as long as my sonne is alyve: And also say to them, that they suffer him
 " this day to wynde his spurres; for if God be pleased, I wole this journey
 " be his, and the honoure therof, and to them that be aboute hym. Than
 " the knyght retourned agayne to them, and shewed the Kynge's wordes, the
 " which gretly encouraged them; and they repoynded in that they had sent to
 " the Kynge, as they dyd."

What passed on the evening of the battle, is thus finely described by
 Froissart. " On this Saturdaye, whan the nyght was come; and that the
 " Englyshmen hard no more noyse of the Frenchemen, than they reputed
 " themselfe to have the vyctorie, and the Frenchmen to be dysconsfited,
 " slayne, and fled awaye. Than they made greate fyers, and lighted by
 " torcheffe and candelies, bycause it was very darke. Than the Kynge
 " auayled downe fro the lytell hyll where as he stode, and of al that day tyll
 " than his helme came never of on his heed. Than he went withall his
 " batayle to his sonne the Prince; and embraced hym in his armes, and kyft
 " hym.

" hym, and sayde, fayre sonne, God gyve you good pſeuerance; ye are my
 " good ſon, thus ye have aquyted you nobly; ye ar worthy to kept a
 " realme: The Prince inclyned himſelfe to the yerthe, honouring the
 " Kynge his father. This night they thanked God for their good adven-
 " ture, and made no booff therof; for the Kynge wolde that no manne
 " ſhulde be proude or make booff, but every man humbly to thanke
 " God."

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In the whole annals of literature, the beſt told ſtories for manners, and affecting and pictureſque circumſtances, are thoſe of Joſeph and his brethren, and of Ruth, in the ſcripture: And yet Froiſſart's account of the fix citizens of Calais, who gave themſelves up to Edward to be executed, in order to ſave the reſt of their fellow-citizens, is ſcarcely inferior. His relation, too, of the Lombards attempt to betray Calais to the French, the King's night-adventure, and his behaviour to his priſoners, is perfectly capital.

Appendix, No. II.

I have ſaid, that Lord Stair, at three different periods, adviſed his late Majeſty to attack France through Paris.

The firſt time was in the year 1734, when France was deſtitute of an army, from the ſucceſſive pacific counſels of the Duke of Orleans and Cardinal Fleury; and the then ſituation of Europe made the Moſelle the only ſtation for a German and Engliſh army. The ſecond was in the year before the battle of Dettingen, when an Engliſh army lay uſeleſs in Flanders, and two French armies were in diſtreſs in Bohemia. The laſt time was after the battle of Dettingen, when, added to the diſtreſſes of the former year, the French had loſt that battle. Theſe periods are referred to in the following memorial, which Lord Stair, when he reſigned the command of the army in Germany, after the battle of Dettingen, delivered to the late King.

Memorial preſented by Field Mareſchal John Earl of Stair to K. George II. after the battle of Dettingen.

" The march from Aſchaffenburg was made entirely without my know-
 " ledge. I got into my coach in the morning, reſolving to continue there
 " during the march; but being afterwards informed that the French were
 " paſſing the Mayne, and advancing in order to attack us, I mounted on
 " horſeback immediately, and made all the diſpoſitions proper for drawing up
 " our army in order of battle, which I executed without any conſuſion.
 " Meeting Count Neuperg ſoon after, I informed him of the diſpoſitions I
 " had made, and he approved of them entirely. This general's opinion was,
 " that the enemy's deſign was not to attack us. Your Majeſty coming up
 " afterwards, I had the honour to acquaint you with every thing I had done,
 " and you expreſſed in ſtrong terms your approbation of all.

" I ſhall not take notice of what happened during the action; your Ma-
 " jeſty knows, that my opinion was, that without loſing time, we ſhould
 " make all the advantage we could of the victory we had gained. When
 " the army arrived at Hannau, I propoſed to ſeize on Hochſtet, and lay a
 " bridge.

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" bridge over the Mayne, to pass the river, and to post our army in such a manner as to hinder the enemy from getting back over the Rhine; which, from what had passed on that side of the Danube, I judged would soon happen. I pressed the same advice with your Majesty, by the means of General Ligonier; I am utterly ignorant how it came to pass that it was not followed. I proposed afterwards to lay bridges over the Mayne on the side of Hannau, whereby we might be in a condition to take all possible advantages of the enemy's conduct, in case they should think fit to quit the river. This being over, I told your Majesty there was only one means left to maintain your superiority over the French, viz. to embark all the foot, and send them down the Rhine, and march them with all possible expedition towards Flanders. I cannot help still repeating that same advice.

" I have received several marks of contempt for my advice, even in the view of the whole army, particularly of the English troops. Posts of command that became vacant, and used to be disposed of by the recommendation of the commander in chief, were given away without my knowledge; and some particular generals were named to command at the head of the line whilst I was there present. I have served under the two greatest generals of their time; their confidence and favour have procured me a knowledge of the plans and dispositions which they made for operations.

" At the end of the war I was stripped of all my employments, on account of my attachment to the house of Hanover. At the late King's accession I was sent to the court of France as ambassador: My conduct at that court is sufficiently known. I had the misfortune not to please your Majesty's minister; but that never in the least cooled my zeal for the advancement of your glory, and the public good, as far as was in my power. In 1734, I got a plan delivered to your Majesty for forming an army on the Moselle, which would infallibly have made you arbiter of Europe. When Marshal Maillebois marched into Bohemia, I formed another plan for assembling an army in Flanders, with which, if it had been readily executed, it would have been easy to penetrate as far as Paris. No ambition, or any hopes of raising my fortune, could, at my age, have engaged me to quit my retirement; no other motive but the hopes of contributing to your glory, and of being useful to the public, could have drawn me from thence. I flatter myself, that in regard of what I have represented to your Majesty, you will be pleased to think that Lord Stair is an honest man, though a stranger to art and cunning. I shall leave it to your Majesty as my political testament, never to separate yourself from the house of Austria. If ever you do, France will treat you as she did Queen Anne, and all the courts that were guided by her councils.

" I hope your Majesty will give me leave to return to my plough, without any mark of your displeasure."

It is a family report, that a proposal made by Lord Stair to the Dutch during his embassy in Holland, in the year before the battle of Dettingen, to carry a Dutch, Hanoverian, and English army into France, and the warmth with which he pressed it in the English cabinet, were the reasons why Lord Carteret

(with

(with whom he was always in bad terms, and to whom he refers in that part of the memorial in which he says, that he is a stranger to art and cunning) advised the King to go abroad to take the command of the army, left Lord Stair had turned upon France, instead of continuing on the Rhine.

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The memorial is curious upon another account, because it shews that after the King joined the army, all regular command ceased, and that the general was no longer general: So that Lord Stair was not answerable for any event after that period, except for drawing up the army on the day of the battle, which saved it. When Mareschal Noailles from a steeple saw the disposition, and Count Grammont make his imprudent attack with the gens d'armes, he came down shrugging his shoulders, and said, "J'ai manqué mon coup." "I have missed my blow."

The principles on which Lord Stair formed his opinion of attacking France, by marching to Paris, are confirmed by that of the best military critic that ever wrote, the Marquis de Feuquières. In the year 1667, almost all the strong places between the frontiers of France and Brussels were in the possession of Spain, and lay in the way of Louis XIV. to get at Brussels, if he had attempted it; yet Feuquières says, that the French army ought to have passed them all without fear, and made the country round that capital and centre of the Spanish Netherlands the theatre of the war. He states the objections and the answers to them, in terms which exactly apply to the project of the Earl of Stair. "Some persons may perhaps object to me, the difficulty of accommodating the army with provisions, in their march from the frontiers of the kingdom, to that centre of the Netherlands; but if the army had been only provided with a sufficient subsistence for a march of five or six days, is it credible, that it could possibly fail of a supply, from the large and defenceless towns that are round Brussels? I am sensible I may be likewise told, that it would have been impracticable to convey, to so great a distance, the heavy artillery, and those ammunitions of war which would have been necessary for the conquest of Brussels, had that city been disposed to make a vigorous defence; but I may justly answer, that in the season of the year, when that campaign should have opened, the horses would not have been employed in any part of husbandry, for which reason, all the carriages in Picardie and Champagne might have been applied to this conveyance; so that it was not any impossibility of effecting this great movement, that prevented its accomplishment." The only difference between the two cases is, that in carrying the war from France to Brussels, the stores and provisions would have been carried by land; whereas, in going from Normandy to Paris, the army must have been supplied chiefly from the sea. But the difference is not material; for in the first war of the grand alliance, when most of the Netherlands were in the hands of the allies, Louis XIV. was obliged to bring the stores and provisions for his army every winter by sea to Calais and Dunkirk. In the late American war they failed across the Atlantic.

The following anecdotes of Lord Stair, who certainly was one of the first characters of the age, because he joined all the fine accomplishments of a French

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French nobleman to the great qualities of a Roman and a Briton, may not be unacceptable to the public — When all his offices and honours were taken from him by Sir Robert Walpole, for voting in parliament against the excise scheme, he retired to Scotland, and put his estate into the hands of trustees, to pay bills drawn by him in his magnificent embassy at Paris, which administration had refused to accept, reserving only a hundred pounds a month for himself. During this period, he was often seen holding the plough three or four hours at a time. Yet on receiving visits of ceremony, he could put on the great man and the great style of living; for he was fond of adorning a fine person with graceful dress; and two French horns and a French cook had refused to quit his service when he retired. When the messenger brought the late King's letter for him to take the command of the army, he had only ten pounds in the house. He sent expresses for the gentlemen of his own family, shewed the King's letter, and desired them to find money to carry him to London. They asked how much he wanted, and when they should bring it; his answer was, "the more the better, and the sooner the better." They brought him three thousand guineas. The circumstance came to the late King's ears, who expressed to his ministers the uneasiness he felt at Lord Stair's difficulties in money matters. One proposed that the King should make him a present of a sum of money when he arrived. Another said, Lord Stair was so high spirited, that if he was offered money, he would run back to his own country, and they should lose their general. A third suggested, that to save his delicacy, the King should give him six commissions of cornets to dispose of, which, at that time, sold for a thousand pounds a piece. The King liked this idea best, and gave the commissions blank to Lord Stair, saying, they were intended to pay for his journey and equipage. But in going from court to his own house, he gave all the six away.

Lord Stair's judgment of men appeared in his choice of the three friends whom he carried in his coach to London to provide for; the late Sir John Pringle; afterwards president of the Royal Society; Mr. Keith, afterwards ambassador at Berlin and Vienna; and Sir Laurence Dundas; men of superior talents in their different lines, and of good birth, but at that time no favourites of fortune. He was well repaid. I have seen the two first, at four-score years of age, city when the name of Stair was mentioned; and Sir Laurence Dundas, through the whole of his life, marked his gratitude by an affectionate kindness to every branch of his Lordship's family.

John Duke of Argyle, who knew well that the artifices of Lord Carteret would find opportunities to create differences between persons of such high spirits as the King and his general, said, that Lord Stair's vanity had made him take the command of the army, and his pride would make him throw it up.

As the following anecdote marks the manners of the age during the Duke of Marlborough's wars, and the character of another singular man, I shall hazard it. Lord Mark Ker and Lord Stair were at play in a coffeehouse, when

when a stranger overlooked their game, and disturbed them with questions. Lord Mark said, "Let us throw the dice which of us shall pink (a cant word of the time for fighting) this impudent fellow." They threw—Lord Stair won. Lord Mark Ker cried out, "Ah! Stair, Stair, you have been always more fortunate in life than me." PART III.
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When Lord Stair was ambassador at Paris during the regency, he gave orders to his coachman to give way to nobody except the King, meaning, that an English ambassador should take the pass, even of the regent, but without naming him. The host was seen coming down a street through which the coach passed. The late Colonel Young, from whom I had the story, who was master of horse, rode to the window of the coach, and asked Lord Stair, if he would be pleased to give way to God Almighty. He answered, "by all means, but to none else;" and then stepping out of the coach, paid respect to the religion of the country in which he was, and knelt in a dirty street.

Louis XIV. was told, that Lord Stair was one of the best bred men in Europe. "I shall soon put that to the test," said the King; and asking Lord Stair to take an airing with him, as soon as the door of the coach was opened, he bade him pass and go in: The other bowed and obeyed. The King said, "the world is in the right in the character it gives: another person would have troubled me with ceremony."

During the rebellion in the year 1745, the clan of Glenco were quartered near the house of Lord Stair. The pretender being afraid they would remember, that the warrant for the massacre of their clan had been signed by the Earl's father, sent a guard to protect the house. The clan quitted the rebel army, and were returning home: The Pretender sent to know their reason. Their answer was, that they had been affronted; and when asked what the affront was, they said, "the greatest of any; for they had been suspected of being capable of visiting the injuries of the father upon the innocent and brave son." He was brave indeed; a sure proof of which was, that he used all the influence and power he possessed, to obtain mercy for those rebels against whom he had commanded one of the armies which guarded England.



B O O K II.

LOSS of the Smyrna Fleet.—Bad Success in the West Indies.—Shipwreck of Sir Francis Wheeler.—Campaign.—Session of Parliament, and King's Reconciliation with Whigs.—He refuses a Place Bill.—Inquiry into the Loss of the Smyrna Fleet,—and into Mismanagements in Ireland.—French Offers of Peace refused.

Anno 1693.

THE history of mankind, which, in ancient times, and in modern times, until the rise of the trading republics of Italy, was a relation of the events of wars and governments, is, since this last period, become in many nations a history of trade; because the fates of war and of government have often depended upon the fate of trade. In the last century, the distant commerce of England, which in our days embraced, and had almost engrossed the traffic of Asia, Africa, North America, and the West Indies, was confined chiefly to the West Indies, where the French, at that time, raised few sugars; to the Mediterranean, of the trade of which the grand alliance gave a monopoly to Holland and England, because the war with Spain, Savoy, and the emperor, excluded France from it; and to the Levant, for the English, at that time, possessed most of the trade which the French have since won from them there by

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their vicinity to the markets, and the facility with which the southern parts of France can accommodate their manufactures to the demands of countries whose climates are so similar to their own. After the nation had been saved from invasion by the defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue, it became, therefore, a great object of government to provide safety for the fleets of merchantmen which were to sail to the West Indies, or to pass the straits of Gibraltar. On this account Sir Francis Wheeler had been sent, in the beginning of the year 1693, with a squadron of twelve ships, to convoy the trade to the West Indies, and, with 1500 troops, to make an impression on the French settlements in seas where they had no fleet to protect them; and part of the combined fleets of England and Holland was intended to convoy, in the spring, through the Straits, from England, a fleet of rich merchantmen, which was, by this time, accumulated to more than 400 ships, because many of them had been obliged to lie in harbour above a year from want of convoy.

The French, in the mean time, had spent the autumn and winter of the year 1692, in the most extraordinary exertions at Brest, under Mareschal Tourville, and at Toulon, under the Count D'Etrees, to repair their old, and build a new navy *, with a view to make a junction in the ocean, and intercept this last fleet in its passage. The English fleet, commanded by the three admirals, Shovel, Killigrew, and De Laval, jointly, and consisting of eighty-three line of battle ships, did not sail from St. Helen's till the beginning of June. But as it was more difficult for the English to get intelligence from France, because they could get it only in the com-

* Burchet says they built sixteen ships of the line in eighteen months.

mon way of paying spies, than for the French to get intelligence from England, where the greatest and meanest equally, from the idea of serving the late King, pressed forward to give intelligence for nothing*; Tourville took care to sail from Brest a fortnight before, but unknown to the English admirals; for though a letter from France, that could be trusted, inclosing a list of ships, and containing intelligence that the Brest fleet was sailed, had been shewn publicly at the council-board by Lord Nottingham; yet by a strange fatality, arising either from his own carelessness, or from the treachery of those to whom he committed the care of forwarding the papers to the admirals, the list was sent to them, but not the letter†. The admirals, therefore, thought they had provided sufficiently for the safety of the convoy, when they conducted it fifty leagues south of Ushant, and then sent Sir George Rooke on with a squadron of twenty-three ships to protect it, which was known to be a greater force than the French could dispatch from Toulon. And on the 6th of June they returned north, to defend England against a fleet, which, in the south, with a far different view, was already in the bay of Logos waiting for the convoy, which the return of the English admirals had exposed to its mercy.

When Tourville's leaving Brest was known in England, advice-boats were instantly sent to Sir George Rooke, to advertise him of his danger, and to the admirals to sail after him. But the dispatch did not over-

* One of the instructions of King James, to such members of the church of England as were faithful to him, was in these words: "That exact accounts be sent of the fleet, how the preparations go on weekly, that his Majesty may know when they can go out, and how strong, which is of great importance: That his Majesty know who commands at sea in the winter, what ships are out, and their situations." M^r Fherfon's State Papers, vol. 1. p. 454. As the clergy are spread every where over the country, it was impossible for him to employ better intelligencers.

† Inquiry in the Journals of parliament this year.

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take Rooke; and the admirals, instead of obeying their orders, expressed their fears to the council of England, lest the two French fleets had joined, gone north about, and should invade the coast of England, while her whole naval force was on the coasts of Spain; and they desired fresh orders.

In the mean time, the scouts of Sir George Rooke's fleet had, on the 16th of June, discovered ten ships of war in Logos bay, together with some smaller vessels, one of which Sir George took, and probably was intended to be taken; for she fell into his hands in the night-time, and all the prisoners confessed in giving false intelligence, that their fleet consisted of no more than fifteen ships; that they had been becalmed in Logos bay, and had taken that opportunity to water there, and that the Squadron had forty store-ships and merchantmen under convoy; trusting, by this means, to induce the English fleet to advance, from the double prospect of security and of plunder. Upon this intelligence Sir George Rooke, in the morning, bore along the shore upon the enemy; but, in the afternoon, discovered a vast navy lying promiscuously together, as far as the eye could reach in the bay of Logos, and sixteen ships making to him. He brought to, and stood off with an easy sail, in order to give time to the heavy sailers to work away to the windward; and gave orders for the ships under the shore, which could not get out to sea, to take shelter in Faro, St. Lucar, and Cadiz. When the enemy's fleet came up with Sir George Rooke's, the three sternmost ships of his Squadron, which were Dutch, together with a considerable number of merchantmen, tacked for the shore, being conscious that they could not avoid being taken if they kept the sea. The French ships, as fast as they came up, followed them, allured by the same hopes of plunder, and the inferiority

feriority of the force they were to attack, which had drawn Sir George Rooke into Logos bay. But the three Dutch ships*, to save the rest of the fleet sacrificing themselves, made a desperate defence against eighteen French ships, and gave time to the rest of the fleet to get off, by which Tourville lost the greatest opportunity, that fortune ever threw in the way of a sea-officer, to gain glory and fortune without danger, seeing the value of the fleet, was above four millions. However, besides the three Dutch ships of war, and an English one taken, fourscore of the merchantmen were taken or destroyed, and the value of the whole loss was a million sterling. Of the rest, some escaped into Spanish ports, but the great body sailed with Sir George Rooke to Madeira. A few days after the engagement, Tourville ranged along the ports of Cadiz, Gibraltar, and Malaga, where he took or burnt two ships of war, and about twenty merchantmen, who had taken refuge in them.

Rooke sailed to Ireland, and from thence joined the great fleet, which, with a view to intercept Tourville in his return to Brest, at a time when he was, on the contrary, carrying the maritime glories of France along the coasts of the ocean and the Mediterranean, took the same ominous station, fifty leagues south of Ushant, where, a few weeks before, the admirals had taken their farewell of Rooke, when they sent him forward with his convoy. Here a calamity, still greater than that which had happened, nearly befel the fleet; for fifty store-ships that had been sent with provisions from England for the fleet, which, in its hurry, had sailed with very few, missed it for some time, and above fourscore great ships of war ran a risk of wanting provisions.

* Opette 1693, July 17.

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Bad success
in the West
Indies.

The fleets returned to St. Helen's in the end of August; and ridicule was added to disgrace, when spectators beheld four regiments of infantry disembark, which had been put on board four months before, to make a descent on the coast of France. The great fleet was then laid up in harbour during the rest of the season.

Sir Francis Wheeler's expedition was equally unsuccessful: In conjunction with General Codrington, governor of the Leeward Islands, who brought 800 men with him that had been raised in those islands, he made an attempt in April on Martinico, which, after being landed for a week, without opposition, but without doing any thing, was disappointed by the same three causes which have proved fatal to so many other expeditions in West Indian regions; the imprudence of exposing troops, lately brought from Europe, to fatigues, military exercise, and marches, which it is impossible for them to bear, troops who should never be made use of, except in the day of battle; the wrong policy of not converting negroes, habituated to the climate, and to live on any provisions, into soldiers, exercised and officered by Europeans, in the same way as is now practised with regard to seapoys in India, with a promise of liberty if they behave well; a measure, of which a child might see the good sense, but to which military pedantry has never assented*; and, above all, disputes between the sea and land officers, which, it is impossible to avoid in climates where the spirits of Europeans, raised and disturbed, their passions irritated, their impatience under sickness, at the miseries which they see all around them, and to return to happier regions, throw a kind of temporary insanity over the minds of men. He pointed at attempts, rather

* The measure was tried on the Spanish main in the last war, by some officers of more genius than rank, and succeeded perfectly.

than made them, on other places, and, in the beginning of winter, returned to England, with his ships eaten with worms, and loaded with barnacles, and most of his crews either dead or dying, or dragging along a life of disease that was worse than death.

PART III.
BOOK II.
1693.

The misfortunes of the nation, and of Wheeler by sea, in summer, were wound up by that which befel him in winter: For having been sent to conduct the trade to Spain and the Mediterranean, he was ship-wrecked in his passage through the Straits, and lost his life, several of his ships, and a number of merchantmen.

Sir Francis
Wheeler
lost.

The campaign on the continent of Europe was also unfortunate. In Germany the French took Heidelberg, in Spain Roses, in the Netherlands Huy and Charleroy. In the last of these countries, the Mareschal Luxemburg defeated the Dutch and English, commanded by King William, in a great battle at Landen; and in Italy, the Mareschal Catinatt defeated the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene in another at Marfiglia. The first of these actions was made remarkable by General Churchill's taking his nephew, the Duke of Berwick, son to King James, prisoner, and bringing him to his brother-in-law King William; the other, because it was the first general action in Europe, in which the attack was made by the bayonet and sword alone, after the rapid manner of attack used in Roman armies, and was therefore decisive. The Duke of Berwick, in his Memoirs, says, that when he was carried prisoner to the King, the first thing that struck him, who had never seen the King before, was, his eye like that of an eagle. One circumstance of the meeting related by the Duke, marks the taciturn manner, and another, the phlegm of the King. For he took his hat off, but did not speak to the Duke; and though it be known from history, that he exposed

Campaign
on the con-
tinent.

PART III.
BOOK II.

1693.

Session of
parliament,
and reconcil-
iation with
the whigs.

his life in an extreme degree in that action*, as he always did when his doing so was necessary; yet the Duke found him at a time when it was not necessary to do so, half a mile distant from the field, and giving his orders with as much calmness, as if the action had been over.

At the end of such accumulated misfortunes by sea and by land, the King met his parliament in November. There is no governing England without calling a little of the trick of party to the aid of government; because, in a country in which all take a side, even on the most abstract part of politics, many flock to whoever holds up the standard of their opinions, who would not rank behind himself, and they account his victories to be their own, though they gain nothing by them. The whig party, which, in the convention parliament, had chiefly contributed to place the King on the throne, could with ease have insured success in parliament to his measures; but being afraid that his auxiliaries might become his masters, he had taken power from them, and thrown it into the hands of the tory party, hoping that when neither side had the superiority over the other, he could command both, by throwing his weight into whichever of the two scales he pleased. But the last session of parliament had shewn him, that this refinement in politics was dangerous; for Lord Caermarthen, in the memorial which I mentioned in the last book, told the King, "His ministers agreed in opinion, that nobody knew one day what the house of commons would do the next." And, accordingly, most questions of importance had been decided only by a few votes; the consequence of which was, delay in his bu-

* The Gazette says he even threw off his armour, that his movements might be more easy.

usiness,

1693¹

finess, and uncertainty in the issue of it. To remedy this, he now resolved, by the advice of Lord Sunderland, to divide the whig party. With this view, in the spring of the year 1693, he had recalled the commission of the great seal, because those who held it were of little consequence to him, and gave it to Sir John Somers, and appointed Sir John Trenchard, the friend of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, to be secretary of state, in place of Lord Sidney, with whom he could take freedom, without disobliging him. He changed many of the magistracies in the counties *, in favour of the whig party, filled the admiralty-board with whigs, and appointed Mr. Montague, of the same party, to be chancellor of the exchequer; a man remarkable for one of the most useful habits, in which an English minister can indulge, that of opening his doors to projectors of all kinds; because he said, that from some one or other of them, he always learned something which he had not thought of before. Employment was even offered to Lord Marlborough, but which he refused, because he had asked †, but had not got permission from the late King

* M^{rs} Pherfon's State Papers.

† Captain Lloye's report to King James, of 1st May 1694, contains these words: "The first person they brought me to was Lord Churchill, to whom I showed my instructions; at the same time informing him, that your Majesty having heard that he was to have an employment, had commanded me to assure him from you, that you was highly pleased at this, and gave him your consent to accept of it; and left him at liberty to employ the properest means for obtaining it, having no doubts of his fidelity."

"Lord Churchill answered me, that it was true, that he had been solicited some time ago to accept of an employment; but that he did not chuse to accept of it without your Majesty's consent, which he had demanded by the means of Major General Sackfield, without whom he did not move a step: That the affair was now passed, but, if it occurred again, which might well happen, he would not accept, but from a design of serving your Majesty, for whose re-establishment he was determined to resign his life, for expiating his crimes." M^{rs} Pherfon's Papers, vol. i. p. 480.

PART III.
BOOK II.

1693.

King to accept it. Russel was replaced in his station of admiral, in place of the three unlucky joint admirals, and Lord Shrewsbury reappointed secretary of state, in place of Lord Nottingham, who was become unpopular by his conduct of naval business. And the King, further to obtain his purpose, scrupled not to do what no English monarch had done before him; for he created one marquis and five dukes, nearly at one time*; and four of the dukes were of the whig party, those of Bedford, Newcastle, Devonshire, and Shrewsbury. In a former volume of these Memoirs, I related an anecdote, and gave my authority for it, that at a period when it was of consequence to the King to appear to be reconciled to the whig party, and to be supported by them, Lord Shrewsbury having scrupled to accept the place of secretary of state, the King sent a colonel of the guards to inform him, that he had orders either to conduct him to the Tower on account of the King's knowledge of his private negotiations with King James, or to leave the seals with him. The story is made more probable, by the publication of Mr. M'Pherson's State Papers, since I wrote, which shew that the seals were accepted by Lord Shrewsbury with reluctance. And therefore if the anecdote be true, it must have happened at this period†.

The

King James in his Memoirs, anno 1694, also says, "Lord Churchill wrote him that he himself was solicited to come into office; but that he would do nothing without the King's consent." M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. 1. p. 245.

* The Marquis of Normanby, the Duke of Leeds, and the four dukes above mentioned.

† King James writes thus in a memorial either to Louis the XIVth, or his ministers: "The Earl of Shrewsbury, who was secretary of state to the Prince of Orange, laid down his employment by my orders." M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. 1. p. 435. Captain Lloyd's report of his negotiations in England to King James, of 1st May 1694, contains these words: "I went to wait on the Countess of Shrewsbury, who was sick. I made her

The King's address produced the effect he intended: PART III.
BOOK II.
1693.
 Though the nation was full of discontents with government, on account of disappointment, mismanagement, and calamity, yet no appearance of displeasure was seen in their representatives. Instead of covering the losses of the nation in his speech to parliament, he spoke them fairly out, and from thence inferred the necessity of greater supplies of money, soldiers, and seamen, than parliament had ever given before. Urged by the state of the public, or by the state of party, or rather perhaps by both, parliament voted 83,000 land forces, exclusive of officers, and 40,000 seamen.

But amidst their compliance with his requests, they presented a *place* bill: He refused his assent, either because he acted by system in his opinions, or because he William refuses a place-bill.

“ her the compliments I was ordered by your Majesty and the Queen. In return to which, she answered me with all the sentiments of duty and affection for your interests. She afterwards told me how her son the Earl of Shrewsbury had been obliged to accept of an employment; the Prince of Orange having sent for him, to offer him the post of secretary of state, which he refused, on account of his bad health. But the Prince of Orange showed him, that he had a very different reason, by repeating to him a discourse which he had held about your Majesty. This surprised the Earl of Shrewsbury much, and convinced him of the danger of refusing the employment; but as he expected a descent in England in a few days, he demanded some time to go to the country, on account of his health and other pressing business, before he received the seals. The Prince of Orange having granted this, he went to the country, accompanied by his friends, well mounted, with an intention of joining your Majesty, in case you had come, as was expected and wished. But that having failed, to his great regret, he was obliged, on his return, to accept of the seals; which she told me, from him, he did only in order to serve your Majesty more effectually hereafter.” *M^r Pherfon's State Papers, vol. I. p. 481.*

And King James in his *Memoirs*, says, he was informed by Lord Churchill, that Lord Shrewsbury was so pressed to receive his former office of secretary, that he was afraid he could not resist. But though he altered his condition, he assured him that he would not alter his inclinations; yet Churchill himself was the adviser of Shrewsbury, hoping he would do himself the same good turn.”

submitted

PART III.
BOOK II.

1693.

submitted to let a parliament, which had favoured him in this session so much, gain the popularity of passing the bill, though at his expence in refusing it. This last is the more probable, because, although the commons presented an address, complaining of his refusal, in which they claimed merit from "having voted such large supplies in the public service," yet they carried the matter no farther.

Enquiry
into misma-
nagements.

Both houses enquired into the causes of the miscarriages by sea, and the commons voted "that there had been a notorious and treacherous mismanagement;" but while the officers of the fleet laid the blame on Lord Nottingham, Lord Nottingham on them and the public offices, the public offices on both, and the nation, perhaps with more justice, on all the three, it became difficult to fix it any where with precision, and is become now impossible; because the evidence is not preserved in the journals of the houses, as was done the preceding year in the recriminations between Admiral Russel and Lord Nottingham.

Lord Bellamont also proposed an enquiry into the late mismanagements in Ireland, by presenting articles of impeachment against Lord Conningsby and Sir Charles Porter, the lords justices there. But the same nature of a popular government, and of the slow proceedings of parliament, which secures most offenders of impunity, where the interest of party is not concerned, screened all those persons against whom the accusations were pointed, and the people were left to their usual consolation under public injuries, the unbounded liberty of private complaint.

The King
refuses
to sign.

Encouraged with the success of a session, from which he had much to fear, and perhaps flattered with his situation as centre of the grand alliance, the King refused offers of peace communicated to him this winter through the

the mediation of the King of Denmark, in which Louis, who and whose people were dejected with a famine, offered to restore all he had conquered during the war, and that the Spanish Netherlands should fall to the Duke of Bavaria, if the King of Spain died without issue. But as the memorial contained no offer of acknowledging William's title to his throne, he refused to listen to it; and as the French King's disputing that title had been the cause of the war between England and France, no complaint was made in parliament of William's refusal. Perhaps his reconciliation with the whigs, the measures which he still however preserved with the tories, and the fluctuating hopes for power, in which he kept both parties, contributed to this silence in parliament: For had men considered the interest of their country, instead of that of their party, or their own, they might have been satisfied with terms, which would have ended the war, taken from France her conquests, and secured the Spanish Netherlands to a prince who was able to defend against France, what Spain could not; although the recognition of the King's title had been left to the chance, or rather certainty, of being taken care of in the course of the treaty.

A P P E N D I X

TO

B O O K II.

The two following letters from Lord Capel were given to me by Mr. Philip York, who possesses the hereditary love of British history of his father, uncle, and grandfather.

From Lord Capel, dated the 12th.

“ I KNOW not well what judgment to make of my affairs with you. Upon Admiral Ruffel’s sending me word, that he had accepted being employed for the ensuing year, my hopes were great: But then at the end of the letter telling me, Lord Shrewsbury had refused the seals, set aside all comfort—And I must needs tell you (to whom I utter my thoughts without reserve), that I could not be quiet, till I had expressed my reflections thereupon to my friend Ruffel. As there is no pleasure like to communicating one’s thoughts to a friend, so forgive me if I send you a copy of what I could not forbear to send him. Be pleased to burn it as soon as you have read it.

Pray send me word in your next, if nephew Essex behaves himself in the house of peers like the son of his father and grandfather. He has promised me in his last that he will; and that no consideration, of place or relation, shall make him deviate from the principles I have given him. I am, my Lord, your Lordship’s most faithful humble servant,

CAPELL.”

“ N. B.
Lord Capel
was one
of the ho-
nestest men
of the whig
party.”

Lord Capel to Admiral Ruffel.

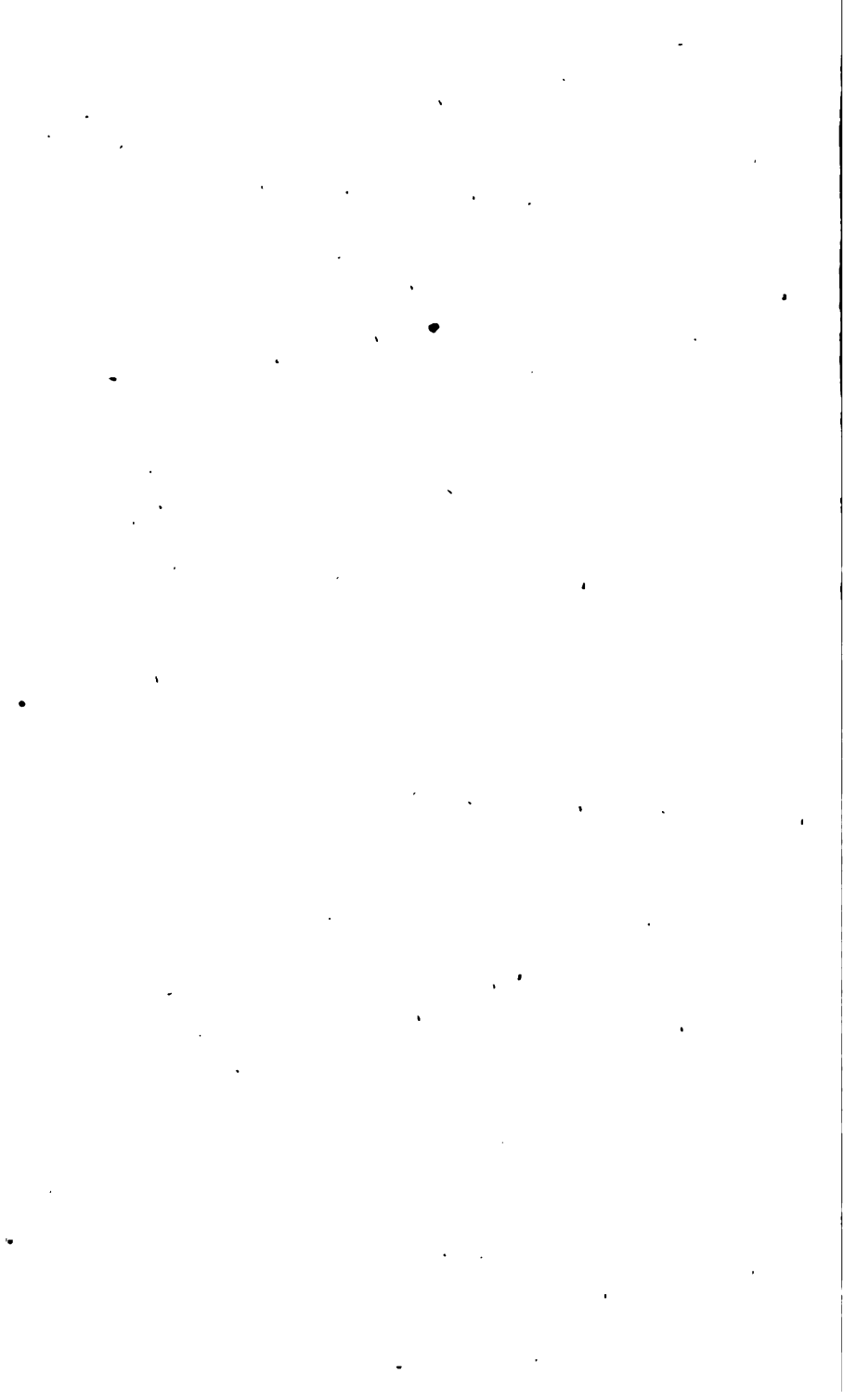
S I R,

“ I HAVE received the favour of your letter, which was a letter indeed from a friend, and do return you my hearty thanks for it.

I am not surpris'd (because I know your temper) that 'tis obedience to advice, that makes you accept the honour the King has conferred upon you: But I am infinitely surpris'd at my Lord Shrewsbury, who has been often blamed, by men of prudence, as a person quite unintelligible; and unless he has had the concurrence of Lord Canterbury and Lord Keeper, I doubt the world will have reason to think so. We have been often blamed as men contented with nothing; and if the church, the law, the fleet, the army (in regard to Talmashe's great station), and the offering of both seals to be in the hands of our friends (the obstacle to common safety, my Lord Nottingham, being removed), will not give content, what must, nay, what will the world say of us?

'Tis small comfort, cousin, for me to be acting here a part for the King's service, and at the same time to see one of the same principles to accept (not so warmly as I could wish) his Majesty's favour.—When I reflect on the King's great and heroic conduct, I am strongly of opinion, God Almighty will preserve him by such means as we think least of; and we, who make such a bustle in the world, shall not be permitted, by our divisions, to do so noble a thing. I am, Sir, your faithful humble servant,

CAPEL.”



B O O K III.

Treachery of the Great in England.—Attack on Brest betrayed and defeated.—French Fleet blocked up at Toulon.—Turn in the Scale of the War, and in the State of the Nation.—Session of Parliament.—Modesty of William.—Triennial Bill passed.—Enquiry into Corruptions.—Impeachment of the Duke of Leeds.—Queen's Death, and King's Reconciliation with the Princess.

A. D. 1694.

THE year 1694 is made remarkable by an event, which, without the aid of any other cause, accounts for all the bad success of King William's war by land and by sea, though conducted by a Prince of abilities, commanding a people enriched by long peace, and unbroke by war; because it proves, that his councils were betrayed to Louis XIV. by the greatest persons in his service.

PART III.
BOOK III.

1694.
Treachery
of those
around the
throne.

The difficulty of forcing the French to general actions in the open sea, the impossibility of blocking up their fleets for any considerable time at Brest in the stormy sea of the Bay of Biscay, or at Toulon in the swelling sea of the Gulph of Lyons, had satisfied the King, that the only way to conquer the fleets of France was in their own harbours; and the sufferings of the trade of England, which not only weakened the nation, but impaired

the revenue, and which had arisen greatly from the vicinity of Brest to the English coasts, made him resolve to attack that place, by making a lodgment on the neck of land which separates the road of Brest from the road of Cameret, and commands the bay, the harbour, and the river; but his intention was betrayed to the late King, by intelligence in the spring from Lord Godolphin, the first lord of the treasury, and afterwards by a letter from Lord Marlborough, eldest lieutenant-general in the service, of date the 4th of May, in the same way as a project against Toulon was betrayed two years afterwards by Lord Sunderland. Marlborough's letter, with a strange endeavour, yet natural desire, even in the most wicked, to reconcile their profligacy with their duty, in their own eyes, and those of others, contained the following words: "This will be a great advantage to England. But no advantage can prevent, or ever shall prevent me, from informing you of all that I believe to be for your service; therefore you may make your own use of this intelligence, which you may depend upon being exactly true." But the letter from General Sackfield to Lord Melfort, which inclosed that from Lord Marlborough, spoke out more plainly the advantage which the intelligence given to James would prove to France. The words are: "I send the letter by an express, judging it to be of the utmost consequence for the service of the King my master, and consequently for the service of his most Christian Majesty." The evidence of Lord Sunderland's treachery (for the evidence of such extraordinary facts should be referred to) is to be found in a letter from the Earl of Arran, his son-in-law, to King James; the treachery of Godolphin, in Captain Lloyd's report of his negotiations in England to King James; and of Lord Marlborough, in his letter to King James, and

General

General Sackfield's letter inclosing it to Lord Mellfort; all lately published by Mr. M'Pherson*. The originals of the two last letters are not in existence in the Scots

PART III.
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1694-

* Lloyd's report to King James, in M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. 1. p. 420.

Translation of a letter in cyphers from Mr. Sackfield, Major General of his Britannic Majesty's forces, to the Earl of Mellfort.

May 3, 1694.

"I have just now received the inclosed for the King. It is from Lord Churchill; but no person but the Queen and you must know from whom it comes: Therefore, for the love of God, let it be kept a secret, even from Lord Middleton. I send it by express, judging it to be of the utmost consequence for the service of the King my master; and consequently for the service of his most Christian Majesty. You see, by the contents of this letter, that I am not deceived, in the judgment I form of Admiral Russel; for that man has not acted sincerely, and I fear he never will act otherwise."

A Translation of Lord Churchill's letter to the King of England.

"It is only to-day I have learned the news I now write you, which is, that the bomb-ketches and the twelve regiments encamped at Portsmouth, with the two regiments of mariners, all commanded by Talmash, are designed for burning the harbour of Brest, and destroying all the men of war which are there. This will be a great advantage to England. But no consideration can prevent, or ever shall prevent me, from informing you of all that I believe to be for your service. Therefore you may make your own use of this intelligence, which you may depend upon being exactly true. But I must conjure you, for your own interest, to let no one know but the Queen, and the bearer of this letter."

"Russel sails to-morrow with forty ships, the rest being not yet paid; but it is said, that in ten days the rest of the fleet will follow, and at the same time the land forces. I have endeavoured to learn this some time ago from Admiral Russel, but he always denied it to me, though I am very sure, that he knew the design for more than six weeks. This gives me a bad sign of this man's intentions. I shall be very well pleased to learn, that this letter comes safe to your hands." M'Pherson's State Papers, vol. 1. p. 437.

Lord Arran's letter to King James, of date 13th March 1695, contains these words: "With regard to news, it is certain, that the preparations that are made here for the Mediterranean, are designed for attacking Toulon, if it is possible. It is Lord Sunderland who has given me in charge to assure your Majesty of this."

college

PART III.
BOOK III.

1694.

college at Paris, where the other two papers are. But the copies were found among the other official papers of Nairne, under-secretary of state to Lord Mellfort, and one of them has an interlineation in Lord Mellfort's hand-writing. And, in King James's Memoirs, I have seen a memorandum in his own hand-writing, that Lord Churchill had, on the 4th of May, given him information of the design upon Brest. I was told by Prittipal Gordon, of the Scots college at Paris, that, during the hostilities between the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Oxford, near the end of the Queen's reign, Lord Oxford, who had got intelligence of the Duke's letter, and pretended, at that time, to be in the interests of the exiled family, applied for, and got an order for the original; and that his making the Duke know that his life was in his hands, was the cause of the Duke's going into a voluntary exile to Brussels in the year 1712: And, indeed, so extraordinary a step as that exile, must have had an extraordinary cause. It is known too from the history of the times, that there was a private meeting between the Duke and Lord Oxford, at Mr. Thomas Harley's house, to which the Duke came by a back door, immediately after which he left England. I have also heard from the late Archbishop of York, grandson to the Earl of Oxford, that he had been informed, that the Dutchess of Marlborough, after the death of those two persons, had contrived to get the letter from Lord Oxford's papers, and destroyed it.

The King of France no sooner heard of the intended expedition to Brest, than he instantly dispatched Mareschal Vauban to repair the old, and raise new fortifications, and a large body of troops to defend them.

Attempt on
Brest disap-
pointed.

King William intended that the attempt should have been made in the spring. But Admiral Russel, by private orders from King James, having accepted the com-
mand

mand of the fleet, which had been taken from him the year before, and King James having given private instructions, through the hands of the Countess of Shrewsbury, to him, the Duke of Leeds, the Lords Shrewsbury, Godolphin and Marlborough, and others, to create delays in the fitting out of the fleet * ; Lord Berkley, who commanded it, was not ready to sail till the first week of June. He carried with him twenty-nine ships of war, and a number of fire-ships and bomb-ketches, with General Talmache, twelve regiments of infantry, and two of marines. When they approached the shore, they found it lined with intrenchments and batteries that were visible, with a great body of infantry and marines, with cavalry drawn up in regular order behind them. But when the ships advanced, three batteries opened, which till then had been concealed. Struck with the appearance, and not ashamed to own it, Talmache said, "The die, however, is cast; we cannot in honour retreat." The Marquis of Caermarthen covered the landing with equal courage, bravely fighting for that country which his father was betraying, but with a greater degree of danger than Talmache, because his ships were exposed not only to the same batteries with the troops, but to batteries from the opposite side of Brest river. Nine hundred soldiers landed in disorder, from the fears of the seamen, who are never to be trusted in steady service, or indeed in any service, out of their own ships; and their clamours mingling themselves with the regular commands of the troops, even after the landing was made good, increased the confusion; so that it was found impossible either to advance or to stand still. The French batteries and musquetry, ceasing all at one time, gave a momentary relief; but it was a fatal one: For the French

* See a copy of these instructions in M^rPherson's State Papers, vol. 1. p. 456.

PART III.
BOOK III.

1694.

dragoons were seen passing through openings in the intrenchments, previously prepared for them, and as fast as they formed, galloped down to complete the disorder on the beach. Unfortunately it was at that time the ebb of the tide, and many of the boats being a-ground, it was found difficult to get them a-float; by which accident, almost all the soldiers, and many of the seamen, exposed to a double danger, were killed, or obliged to ask quarter in the water. Four hundred seamen and one ship of war were lost; the loss of the French was only forty-five men. Talmache, wounded and dying*, pressed that the fire-ships and bomb-ketches should be carried up the river into the harbour, which he thought was probably left weak in the hurry to make the greater preparation in Cameret bay. He had been too prudent to disclose any suspicions of treachery during the expedition; But in the agonies of death, he, who had once private connections † with the friends of the late King, was reported to have mixed in his expressions, a satisfaction of having died for his country, with complaints that he had fallen by the treachery of his countrymen.

French coast
bombarded.

After this disappointment, the English Squadron ranged along the coast of France, in the Channel, and bombarded the towns of Dieppe, Havre de Grace, and Calais, but failed at Dunkirk. Louis XIV. retaliated the injury, by bombarding the noble city of Brussels. The English had an excuse; because in bombarding sea towns, they could destroy ships, docks, naval stores, and the timber-works of the harbours; the French had no excuse but revenge, or the hopes of saving themselves by the fear of their retaliating upon others. But the expence of these bombardments to both sides, exceeded by far the mischief that they did ‡; and therefore they only served

* Burchet.

† Sir John Fenwick's confession.

‡ Burchet.

to irritate the minds of nations against each other by bringing distress on private families.

In the mean time, with a nobler aim, Admiral Russel had been sent in a fleet of near seventy English and Dutch ships of the line, in pursuit of Tourville, who had sailed from Brest with a great fleet for the Mediterranean, in order to attack the Spanish ports along that sea, all of which were in a defenceless state, and to assist Mareschal Noailles in the siege of Barcelona, who was approaching to it with an army of 30,000 men. With that city Catalonia and Valentia must have fallen; and with these provinces, as rich by nature as any in Europe (Flanders and Lombardy not excepted), Spain must have fallen too. But at the sight of Russel's fleet in the Mediterranean, Noailles dropped his design, and Tourville retired for protection to Toulon, where he continued all summer. And to cut off his return to Brest in winter, Russel received orders to station his fleet during that season in the bay of Cadiz. The consequence of which was, that the French, discharging a vast number of seamen in one port, and that port distant from the rest, could never collect them again during the course of the war. By these means the whole face of the war came to be changed, so far as England had an immediate interest in it; for, Spain saved, the Mediterranean commanded, one French navy forced to keep within its harbour at Toulon, the junction of the Toulon and the Brest fleets prevented, the dispersion of the great body of the seamen of France, the French coasts insulted by bombardments, while those of England were safe, and no French ships of war seen in the Channel, the ocean, or the Mediterranean, shewed Europe that England and Holland had at last recovered their superiority at sea, and that France, in her hurry to repair her loss at La Hogue, had overstrained herself in exertions, which, though spirited, were unnatural to her country.

PART III.
BOOK III.

1694.
French fleet
blocked up
in Toulon,
and turn of
the war.

PART III.
BOOK III.

1694.
And in the
state of the
nation.

There are three pulses which mark the health or sickness of England, all of which depend on the state of her foreign trade: These are the tonnage of her exporting trade, the produce of her customs, and the strength of her navy. Now, from the Revolution, down to a period soon after Ruffel's expedition to the Mediterranean, the prosperity of England had been in a continual state of degradation in these three respects *. The tonnage of the merchant shipping outwards, English and foreign, which, at the Revolution, had been 285,800 tons, was sunk in the year 1693, to 206,590 tons, and in the year after was still lower, to wit, 142,780 tons. Of this shipping, the English portion, which, at the Revolution, consisted of 190,533 tons, was, in the year 1693, sunk to 118,088 tons, and in the year 1694 was still less, to wit, 73,056 tons; the remaining portion of the shipping outwards being entirely foreign, because the English, on account of the danger of capture, durst not carry on their trade on their own bottoms. The customs, although many new duties were imposed after the Revolution, fell annually 138,707*l.* upon an average of seven years from that period. The navy of England, which, in the time of peace at the Revolution, carried 101,032 tons, was, in six years of war, increased little more than 10,000 tons. But soon after the empire at sea was recovered, the private shipping, customs, and navy of England, continually increased during the reign of William. Before he died, the tonnage of the shipping cleared outwards, mounted to 337,328 tons, of which the English portion made 293,703. The customs, which, at the Revolution, produced 551,141*l.* mounted

* Vide Mr. Chalmer's Estimate, in one table of which, on half a sheet of paper, there is contained the substance of many volumes. But I cannot assent to the implicit faith which, in other parts of his publication, he has put in the paper called Mr. Astle's Transcript.

to 1,474,861*l*. The navy of England, which, at the Revolution, consisted of 6930 guns, and 42,003 men, rose to 10,078 guns and 53,921 men*. The consequence of all which was, that the export trade of England, which, at the Revolution, was 4,086,087*l*. rose to 6,045,432*l*. and the balance of trade, which, at the Revolution, was doubtful, rose, in favour of England, to 1,386,382*l*. †

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The fate of a war at sea generally draws after it that of a war on the continent, in contentions between England and France. The dejection of the French fleet this summer, seems to have affected the spirits of their countrymen elsewhere; for they lost Huy, and made no progress in the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, or Spain.

William met his parliament on the 12th of November: It is known that he wrote most of his speeches himself. These are easily distinguishable from the others, by French modes of expression, but more by the simplicity and brevity of his style, and the total want of all artifice in the thought. In his speech upon the present occasion, the singularity of the familiar, modest, and even diffident words, in which he mentioned the change of the face of the war, drew the attention to that change and to himself, much more than the most boastful expressions could have done; for from thence his subjects inferred the magnanimity of a King who could not be spoiled either by bad or by good fortune. His speech, in which I print in italics the particular words that I allude to, was as follows:

Session of
parliament,
Modesty of
William.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I am glad to meet you here, when, *I can say*, our
“ affairs are in a better *posture*, both by sea and land,
“ than when we parted last.

* Vide Campbell, vol. 1. p. 304; and vol. 2. p. 317.

† Vide Mr. Chalmers.

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“ The enemy has not been in a condition to oppose
“ our fleet in these seas; and our sending so great a
“ force into the Mediterranean has disappointed their
“ designs, and *leaves us a prospect* of further success.
“ With respect to the war by land, *I think I may say*,
“ that this year a *stop* has been put to the progress of the
“ French arms.”

Triennial
bill passed.

Nature and simplicity affect senates as they do private persons, that is, always in favour of those who throw the expression of them into their manner. Parliament, without difficulty, provided large supplies for the war, in which near 88,000 land forces were * now paid by England. In return, they insisted for an act for triennial parliaments, and the King granted it, either because he was afraid, by refusing the bill again, of being accounted too obstinate in his own opinions against those of his people; or because, as was said by many, he wished to become popular at a time when the Queen's approaching death, which happened a few days after, made him afraid of having his title called in question, and consequently made popularity, at that nice crisis, of the last consequence to him.

But the attention of this session was soon detached from almost every other object, and fixed almost solely to one.

Enquiry in-
to corrup-
tions.

The wickedness which, as Thucydides observes, accompanies all civil wars of duration, because men can then commit abuse with impunity, added to the hypocrisy in which it was clothed during the times of Charles I. and Cromwell;—the affectation of libertinism, which, in the conquering, naturally succeeded to the affectation of purity in the conquered party, and which was made the mark of loyalty after the Restora-

* Journals Commons, Nov. 26, 1694.

tion, together with the distribution of French money in parliament during the reign of Charles II.;—the double part which almost the whole nation had acted, in their pretended submissions to the will of Charles II. at the end of his reign, and of his successor during the whole of his reign;—the treachery of multitudes in the time of King William, who could swear allegiance to one Prince, while they were plotting with another to dethrone him; and the want of all feeling of duty or shame, in those who communicated private intelligence to a foreign power at war with their country; together with a practice which had lately been introduced * by Sir John Trevor, speaker of the house of commons, to distribute money among the members, and which the equal balance of parties obliged the King to yield to, in order to carry on public business, which might otherwise have been retarded or defeated; all these causes had spoiled the political morals of the nation at this period. And perhaps it is an advantage of the age in which we live over the last, that by making the alleged influence of government, whatever it may be, open in those who sit in parliament, it has removed almost all unseen influence, and enabled the people to judge of the merit or demerit of the persons who are the objects of it. But the extent of the mischief arising from those causes, was not discovered until this session of parliament, and came out by mere accident, and only by degrees; the discovery of one mean action leading to that of another, in the same way as the commission of one leads to that of others. The borough of Royston had complained to the house of commons, of some exactions of the officers of the army under pretence that their men could not be subsisted without them: In the course of the enquiry by the house, it appeared, that the officers had defrauded the men, and

* Burnet.

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that the agents for regiments had not only defrauded both, but had been guilty of bribing in public offices. The officers and agents complained, that they were selected to suffer for what others had done as well as they. Pity for the common men, the rank of the officers whose honour is their fortune, envy against the agents, who, far from danger themselves, were making fortunes at the expence of persons exposed to it; all these circumstances caught the public attention, which soon extended itself from the agents to the contractors for the clothing of the army, who were suspected of the same practices with the agents, and like them were unpopular, and for the same reasons. The storm at last reached Mr. Guy, secretary to the treasury, who was said to have been bribed to pass army accounts. The difficulties which the agents and contractors raised against being examined, or producing their books in parliament, increased the suspicion of the public, and the closeness of the scrutiny. Colonel Hastings, upon complaint of the house to the King, was cashiered: Some of the agents and contractors were taken into custody of the house; and others, among whom was Mr. James Craggs, sent to the Tower, together with Mr. Guy, who was dismissed from his office. Public clamour next fixed itself upon the commissioners for licensing hackney-coaches, whose misconduct had made a noise, from the device of one of their wives, to save the consciences of those who bribed her: For the statute having required the person who got the licence to swear that he had not paid above 50*l.* for it, she told them, that the oath related to *giving*, but not to *intending to give*, and that *she would* not take money till after *they had* taken the oath. Some of them were dismissed from their offices; one of whom was the same Colonel Villars, who had pulled down the houses of Lady Cromwell in Ireland, to save the expence of pay-
ing

ing for his fewel. Public fuspicion then feemed to flop for a while, not becaufe it was removed, but becaufe uncertain on what object to fall. At laft it was recollected, that a bill for the relief of the orphans of London, which had hung long before parliament, without any attention paid to it, had lately paffed on a fudden. The caufe of the fatherlefs and motherlefs, which affected the hearts of all, called for an enquiry, more for the chance than from the hopes of fuccefs. The books of the chamberlain of London were examined by a committee of the commons; when, to the aftonifhment of all, it was found, in a public minute of the books, that Sir John Trevor, their own fpeaker, had received a prefent of 1000 guineas from the orphans for his fervices in procuring their bill; and that Mr. Hungerford, the chairman of the committee, had alfo received a prefent. Trevor, who had filled the great offices of fpeaker, mafter of the rolls, and commissioner for keeping the great feal, had the fingular mortification to be obliged to put the queftion upon the vote of the houfe which proclaimed his own difgrace. Both of them were foon after expelled.

When the lines of private bribery were traced into parliament, they were eagerly purfued, becaufe the heat of party joined itfelf to public virtue. It had been remarked, that in the feflion before laft, many perfons had changed fides, on a bill for regulating the Eaft India company, without any vifible reafon that could induce them to do fo; and that the company, during the dependence of the bill, had very fuddenly, and unknown to parliament, obtained a new charter from the crown. The books of the company were examined, to fee if the caufes of thefe things could be found there. It was difcovered, that, in the fpace of a few months, during the dependence of the bill and of the charter, above 90,000/.

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had been expended on special services, which was near an hundred-fold more than the annual expence of such services in the late reign; that Sir Thomas Cook, a member of the house, and governor of the East India company, had expended the money on secret services without account; and that five other members of the house, and who were in the government of the company, had concurred in the orders for the money to Sir Thomas. Cook was examined by the house, but refused to answer how he had disposed of the money: The house committed him to the Tower, together with Mr. Crags, who had been engaged in the abuses of the India company, as well as in those of the clothing of the army, and in both cases had refused to be examined by the house; and the commons sent bills of pains and penalties to the other house to force them to make a discovery. When Cook was brought from the Tower to the bar of the house of lords, to be heard in his defence against the bill, he offered to make a discovery, if he was himself indemnified: The peers accepted the offer; an act of parliament passed to indemnify him; and the houses named a joint committee of twelve peers and twenty-four commoners to examine him, and prosecute the enquiry.

The public was big with expectation of the secrets that lay hid in the breast of Cook. Much pains in the mean time were taken * to stifle and obstruct the enquiry, by some for their own sakes, and by others from fears sometimes certain and sometimes uncertain, lest their friends should be involved. The innocent, on the other hand, pressed it forward to show that they were so, at the expence of those who were not; and some of the guilty to hide their consciousness of guilt. But it chiefly received wings from the love of curiosity, the envy and

* Burnet.

anger natural on such occasions. Cook, ashamed of his conduct at the bar of the house of lords, endeavoured to repair it by not telling all he knew, and the peers voted that he was not entitled to his indemnity. From his and other evidence, however, it came out at different times, piecemeal and reluctantly, that part of the money had been given to persons at court, or about great men, and that the King himself had received 10,000*l*. The nation stood aghast, believing that universal corruption had tainted the army, the public offices, the city, the India house, the parliament, and the palace. The imputation on this last, indeed, remained but a short time; for the people gave a generous credit to their Prince, who was a foreigner, and who had taken only the customary present of 10,000*l*. for renewing the charter, which their native Princes before him had received in lieu of their prerogative impaired by such charters.

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In the course of those bills, the Duke of Leeds, by his violence in obstructing enquiries, and, at the same time, mingling with his arguments assertions of his own innocence, which nobody was calling in question, drew suspicion upon himself. Mr. Bates, one of his particular friends, Sir Basil Firebrace, a merchant, connected equally with the court, the India house, and the city, and others, were therefore examined with regard to him. The result of their evidence was, that the duke was believed to have been originally an enemy to the views of the company; that, to remove this difficulty from so high a station as that of the president of the council, the offering him a present of 5000 guineas had been proposed and resolved on; that Bates had used his interest with the duke in favour of the bill, and been successful; that above eighteen months previous to the enquiry, Bates told the duke he had notes for 5000 guineas from the governors of the company, which he

Impeachment of the Duke of Leeds.

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offered to the duke, but he refused them; that he then asked the duke's leave to let one of his servants, named Roberts, a Swiss, receive the guineas, as he was himself not expert at telling money; to which the duke answered, he gave him leave; and that Roberts received the money immediately after. But the fact was, that whether the duke did, or did not take the money, Bates had never received nor asked it from Roberts, till three days before his examination; and then only, as he said*, because his getting it was making a noise. But, in his anxiety to keep this circumstance out of view, on account of the obvious improbability of his letting so great a sum as 5000 guineas, if they had been his own, lie more than a year and a half in the hands of any servant whatever, and still more in the hands of the servant of another; he contradicted himself, and thereby hurt that patron whom he wished to serve, like most of those who think that they can preserve private, after losing the sense of public virtue: For, on his first examination, with an ambiguity intended to mislead, he gave an undeterminate period to the time when he had received the money from Roberts, in the following words†: "That Monsieur Roberts, after he had received the money, brought the same to him:" But when pressed, in a subsequent part of his examination, to fix the time when he got the money from Roberts, he said, "it was within a month last past." And, in the end, when still farther pressed to explain what particular time he meant by the last of those expressions, he owned that he had got back the money only three days before his examination‡. But, notwithstanding the presumption which might be drawn from those circumstances, there was still

* Journal.

† The Journals shew, that the money was paid to Roberts in September or October 1693.

‡ Journal, 26th April 1695, evidence of Bates.

no direct evidence that the money had been applied to the duke's use with his own privacy. The evidence of the guilt or innocence of the duke, came therefore to a short issue; for it lay with Robarts alone to say, whether he had paid the money to the duke, or kept it for Bates; a cruel situation for a lord president of the council, and a duke of England, to depend for his honour, fortune, and person, on the evidence of a menial servant. On this view of the present and future state of the evidence, however, and without examining Robarts, the house instantly, and without a division, in one of those heats which make them often do wrong to get at right, voted to impeach the Duke of Leeds for high crimes and misdemeanors.

The duke was, in the middle of a speech on the business in general, in the house of lords, when one of his friends in a whisper informed him of the vote: He stopped, and hastened to the house of commons, desiring to be heard: The doors were instantly thrown open, and he was admitted; a chair was ordered to be set for him within the bar, in which he sat covered for a few minutes, and then rose to make his defence, which, in the confusion and anxiety of his spirits, whether they arose from the consciousness of innocence or of guilt, was not equal to the lustre of his former abilities; and he displeased the pride of his audience, by an arrogant expression on which he laid arrogant emphasis, "that if it had not been for *him*, *they* had not *then* been sitting *there*." The house persisted in their resolution to impeach. But the flight of Robarts immediately after from the duke's house to the continent, blasted all hopes of bringing direct and legal evidence home to the duke. He then pressed for his trial on the impeachment, complaining that the rights of all others were injured in his person; for that no man was safe, if an imputation

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could be fixed upon his character, by hanging an impeachment without decision over it, at a time when the state of the evidence showed obviously, that it was impossible for his enemies to prove guilt upon him, and equally impossible for him to disprove their charges, however innocent he might be. But the commons shewing no intention to proceed with an impeachment which promised no success, the King interrupted the matter by a prorogation of parliament on the 3d day of May.

The fate of the Duke of Leeds is one of many instances in the history of English jurisprudence, in which, from the nature of free and public trials in England, the laws of justice are maintained in favour of accused parties, when yet they are left exposed to that suspicion, which is the most grievous of all punishments, because it never ceases.

But one circumstance in the prosecution gave pleasure to the King, because it vindicated both himself and his favour for foreigners. Mr. Tyfon, the deputy-governor of the India company, swore *, that having authority to offer 50,000*l.* to the King through the hands of Lord Portland, Lord Portland refused to interpose, saying, "The King would not meddle in the matter." And being asked if he had offered money to Lord Portland, he answered in these words: "No. If I had, I must never have seen his face again." The public, which is always fair to fair characters in England, remarked the contrast between the indelicacy of the English, and the correct honour of the Dutch minister, which even Tyfon, who had made attempts without fear, and with success, on the virtue of so many others, had not dared to approach.

The treachery of an Asiatic court was never exceeded by that which prevailed in England at this time; while

* Journals, April 27. Tyfon's evidence.

Tyson was attempting to bribe King William, he was, in order to dethrone him, negotiating a loan in the city for King James *.

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During this enquiry, the Queen died. Sunderland, who was continually betraying, and continually serving King William, persuaded the Princess Anne to write a letter of condolance to the King, and to pay him a visit, which was received with great marks of attention on the King's part, who, well knowing the way to one part of a female heart, made the Princess a present of her sister's jewels, and of the palace at St. James's. On these advances, an appearance of reconciliation in the royal family was founded, which had almost all the good effects of a real one, because it obliged inferior figures to suspend their passions by the example of their superiors.

Death of the
Queen.

* M^rPharson's State Papers, vol. 1. p. 499, and 500.

B O O K I V.

SIEGE of Namur.—*Operations at Sea and in the West Indies.*—*New Parliament, and its Character.*—*Laws of Treason amended.*—*Silver Coin and public Credit amended.*—*Note, The Principles of that Amendment applied to the Debts which the Americans at present owe to Britain.*—*Mr. Duncombe and others called to account for Revenue Frauds.*—*Intrigues with France, and the late King.*—*Intended Invasion from France.*—*Intended Assassination of the King.*—*General Association and Loyalty.*—*Use which the King makes of it.*

A. D. 1695, and 1696.

THE history of war is often no more than the history of generals, because on their abilities, next to discipline and the nature of arms, the fate of war chiefly depends. The battle of Landen was the last which Mareschal Luxemburgh fought, and with his life the successes of Louis XIV. terminated in Flanders. King William, after several feints and divisions of his army, in order to conceal the object at which he pointed (every one of which Mareschal Luxemburgh would have taken advantage of, but which Mareschal Villeroy, his successor, did not, because he did not see the advantage that they gave), made his different bodies of troops meet at last at one common centre at Namur. He concealed

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cealed his intention so well, that he did not even communicate it to the Elector of Bavaria, till he gave him the command of the siege, and had posted himself to cover it with a great army in strong ground, and with perfect security for his convoys. The garrison consisted of 12,000 men; and Marechal Boufflers, by a hasty movement, threw himself with seven regiments of dragoons into the place before the siege began. Coehorn assisted to attack defences which himself had constructed, and Vauban had improved. The siege of the town and castle lasted near two months, and both of them were taken by a courage almost approaching to frenzy of the troops, who, being sent to assaults in bodies which the King composed on purpose of different nations, vied with each other, when the rest of the army were beholding their actions, each man to shew his own, and each body to shew its country's courage, but with vast loss of men on both sides; for the French had near 10,000 killed or wounded, and the besiegers more, as always happens in sieges of assault.

In the mean time, the French had got possession of Dixmuyde and Deynse, which were weakly defended, in which they took 6000 prisoners, but refused to exchange them, though there was a regular cartel. On this account, while the French garrison was marching through the breach with all the honours of war, Boufflers, after passing it, was arrested by orders of the King, till the 6000 prisoners should be restored. The affront was softened by the manner of it; for Boufflers having complained, that with the same justice the whole garrison might be arrested, Dykvelt answered, that they certainly might; but the King thought that the person of Marechal Boufflers was more than equivalent to the whole. The French King, touched with the politeness of the reproof, though he had not been so with the breach

breach of faith which gave occasion for it, immediately ordered the garrisons of the two towns to be delivered up. The rest of the campaign was spent in inaction, because the French lay on the defensive, and the allied army was weakened by its sufferings in the siege.

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The actions of the campaign were of no general consequence on the Rhine, in Spain, or in Piedmont; but the French lost Casal in Italy, if that can be called a loss, when the town taken was given up by its conquerors to its own sovereign the Duke of Mantua, and was dismantled so as to be of no benefit to the enemies of France.

The English and Dutch fleets still kept the French fleet under Tourville locked up in Toulon, where it continued till the summer of the next year, when it stole home to Brest. In the mean time, no French fleet was seen in the Mediterranean, or the ocean, or the channel. The English privateers and letters of marque were exceedingly successful against the French trade: But the French privateers repaid the injury; for they took many West India ships, and five East India ships valued at a million sterling.

Operations
at sea.

In the West Indies, the English and Spaniards in conjunction, under Captain Wilmot, with five ships of war, and Colonel Lellingstone, with 1200 troops, made an attempt upon St. Domingo. At their approach, the governor of Cape Francois blew up the fort and retired. The governor of Port a Paix stood a siege of a few days, and then deserted the fort. The English and Spaniards, after over-running part of the island, quitted it in a fortnight: And the ease with which these successes were procured, only gave the nation reason to complain that they were not oftener attempted, and that better use was not made of them. The same three causes which had disappointed the descent upon Martinico, by Sir Francis

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Wholesale, proved fatal to that on St. Domingo, and will disappoint others, until soldiers shall learn that it is no affront to them to apply the rules of common sense to projects of war.

These events were variously spoke of in England; for while some triumphed over the disgraces of the fleets of France, and extolled the secrecy with which the King had planned the enterprise upon Namur even from his own friends; his stratagems to distract the attention of his enemies from his real object; the prudent post he had taken for his army; the foresight and presence of mind with which he had secured his convoys; his perseverance in the siege; his good sense in calling forth unusual exertions of valour from the emulation and vanity of nations; the strength of the place by art and by nature; the number of the garrison; a marshal of France taken in a town commanded by him, which was a circumstance without example in former times; the spirit with which the King had asserted the *jus gentium* of Europe, in behalf of prisoners of war, together with the politeness with which that spirit had been conducted: Others observed that he had never gained one battle on the continent; that the almost only town taken by him was covered with the blood of his people; that the success of a seven years campaign was limited to his regaining a single place, which his enemies had taken from him two years before, in his sight, and when he commanded 80,000 men to prevent them; and that his fleet parading up and down the Mediterranean, exposed to storms and waste, while the navy of France lay safe from both at Toulon, and the trade of both nations was mutually and equally destroyed by privateers, was a mere struggle between the two which of them could hold longest out, in bearing an expence that was useless to both. On this last subject, a saying of Louis XIV. was repeated,

repeated, who, when reminded of the expence of the war, answered, "Eh bien! le dernier guinée l'emportera." "Well, the last guinea will win the day." Words which struck the people of England the more, because it shewed them, that their want of success, or their success, were equally to be attended with the consumption of their wealth.

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But as Princes hear more of the good than of the evil that is spoken of them, the King took advantage of the turn which the war had taken, to call a new parliament, hoping that in the good humour which he was told that turn had created, the nation would send members who were agreeable to him; and to promote this view, he made a tour during the elections through a great part of his kingdom. But the people, deeply affected with the dangers which they ran amid contending Princes, with the real distresses of the nation in many respects, and above all, by the late inquiries into corruptions, returned members, not so much from regard to the party they belonged to, as from the confidence which their fellow-citizens placed in their integrity: And the members themselves, conscious of this, came to parliament with minds prepared to be loyal to their deliverer on the one hand, but to be jealous, and sometimes too jealous of even the most distant interests of their country on the other. The transactions of this parliament, from first to last, mark this mixture of character in its members.

Character
of new par-
liament.

The first step which the new house of commons took, and even on the first day of the session, was to amend the laws relating to trials for high treason, by bringing mercy and justice into them; remembering that their fathers and themselves had resisted, and foreseeing, in the unsettled state of the government of England, that their sons might be obliged to resist too. Among other articles introduced by the bill, in favour of the prisoner,

Treason-
laws a-
mended.

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he was to be allowed the aid of counsel. Lord Shaftsbury, the first person who, since the days of Plato and Cicero, combined in his writings philosophy and eloquence, had prepared a speech in favour of the article. But, struck with the sight and attention of his audience, he lost his memory and usual powers of his mind, hesitated, and stopped in the middle of his speech; when, by a happiness of genius which always accompanies the tender heart, a start of nature burst from his confusion, more powerful than all the figures of art. "If I," said he, "who only rise to give an opinion in a matter in which I have no interest, and can be under no fear, am so abashed with the appearance of this public audience, as not to be able to say what I came prepared to say; what must be the condition of that person in defending himself without the aid of counsel, who is a prisoner, suspected, under accusation of the highest crime that the law knows, unprepared against arguments and evidence which may be brought against him, and struggling for his life, fortune, and fame?"

The new parliament then congratulated the King on the success of his arms, and resolved to support him effectually in the prosecution of the war; and the commons voted supplies for 87,000 troops, exclusive of officers.

1696.
Operations
on silver
coins.

The houses next proceeded to remedy the disorders of the silver coin, which was so much impaired as to be fallen about a third in its value; for the guinea passed for thirty shillings; by which payments were made so uncertain, that no man knew the real amount of what he got. The consequence was, that other countries threw their gold into England, and purchased goods with English silver at two-thirds of their value; the exchange of all nations was against England; the troops and seamen were ready to mutiny, because paid in nominal

minimal not in true value; and a general bankruptcy, both private and public, must have ensued. But, though all saw the disease, many long opposed the attempting a remedy; some actuated by their fears to tamper with the coin in time of war and low credit, and others because instructed by the late King to thwart and perplex whatever could be beneficial to the new government*. In the mean time, numberless speculations, as happens on such occasions, were presented to Mr. Montague, chancellor of the exchequer; but most of which, like other projects by political flatterers, were calculated to give advantage to government at the expence of the subjects; for some proposed to lessen the weight of the coin, others to mix it with alloy, others to increase its current value, and some to substitute paper in payments, without providing a security for it. But Mr. Montague called to his aid Sir Isaac Newton from his mathematical, and Mr. Locke from his metaphysical studies, knowing, by his own experience, the ease with which men possessed of talents and knowledge can transfer them from one object to another. And these three persons remedied an evil deemed to be above remedy, by applying the principles of common sense and common honesty to it; for they prevailed with parliament to call in all the old coin at its intrinsic value, to issue new coin at the ancient standard and value, and to pay the difference between the old and the new, which amounted to about 2,400,000*l.* by a tax on houses and window lights, by which the loss of all was contrived to fall equally upon all; and people grudged not to pay a few shillings once in the year, in return every day of the year for security in their payments. In one thing only Mr. Montague's plan proved unfortunate in the execu-

* M^r Pherfon's State Papers, vol. I. page 454.

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tion: For, instead of allowing the old money to be taken in payments according to its weight, and consequently letting it find its own way to the mint, as was done some years ago by Lord North, the currency of it in payments was stopped by law, in order to force it more speedily into the mint; and the consequence of this was, to put at first an immediate stop to a great part of the traffic of the nation, which could not go on without payments in money of some kind or other. In order in some degree to remove this temporary evil, mints were erected in different parts of the kingdom, from whence the new money issued; and then the old money was sent readily to them. But it was much better remedied by the general public spirit, and the good faith of individuals, which supplied the want of specie; for the soldiers and seamen submitted to lie out of their pay, and the rest of the nation out of their payments for two months, without murmuring*.

Operations
on public
credit.

Parliament, instructed by the lights of Mr. Montague, afterwards proceeded to keep up public credit, which was so low, that the exchequer tallies sold from twenty to thirty *per cent.* discount, according as their terms of payment were more or less remote, and bank notes at twenty *per cent.* discount; and above five millions of arrears to the soldiers, seamen, transport, and other services, some of which were as old as the Irish war, could not be said to bear any price at all, because the value of them depended on the fears and suspicions of the stability of public credit, and the distresses of their possessors for money. There were two general causes of this failure in credit. The first was, that the taxes provided for the payment of those to whom money was due, had proved deficient in producing the sums ex-

* Cunningham, vol. 1. p. 156. and King's speech 20th October 1696.

passed from them, and many of them were near expiring. The other was the scarcity of coin; for not more than eight millions were coined in England between the revolution and the peace of Ryswic; and that sum even comprehended the recoinage of the old silver coin. But it was impossible that so small a sum could be the fit instrument for conducting the private traffic, and for paying the public taxes of a nation, which, on the faith of the latter alone, was expending every year above five millions on the public service. And the exchequer tallies and bank notes, which alone could be used as subsidiary instruments of payment, were not current in credit, because uncertain in their price.

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1764

In order to remove the first evil, to wit, the deficiency of the taxes, Mr. Montague prevailed with parliament to prolong the old taxes, and impose new ones, of such a magnitude as to satisfy the minds of those who were already public creditors, or whom he means to make such by borrowing money from them for the public use, that they were sufficient to pay the interest which should become due, and part of the principal besides, annually. These taxes thrown into a body, were called the general fund. This provision being made, he raised the price of the old tallies, by taking them in payment of the sums which their proprietors lent to government to pay off the public debts, and which consequently gave those proprietors a new security, to wit the security of the new taxes. And he raised the value of the bank notes, by prolonging the term of the beneficial charter of the bank, by allowing the proprietors to increase their capital, and by taking a part of their notes in payment of a new great loan, which they had agreed to advance to government; the consequence of which was, that a large share of the notes of the bank being thus absorbed or annihilated, the price

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price of those which remained in the market rose in their value.

1696.

In order to supply the want of coin, which was the second general cause of the failure of public credit, Mr. Montague prevailed with parliament to give a power to the treasury to issue exchequer bills, bearing interest, some of which were so low as for five or ten pounds, to the amount of 2,700,000*l.* on the security of the general fund.

By those operations, he added eleven millions of paper money to the coin of the nation, to facilitate payments both by private persons and by the public. Thus, the state supported the bank, the bank supported the state; and the exchequer, which used to be the gulf in which the money of the nation was sunk, proved the source from whence it flowed. This plan, so seemingly intricate, yet so simple in its principles, was, by those who envied the superior views of its author, called a *happy temerity*. The intended satire was a real compliment.

From the establishment of this general fund, and the credit which these exchequer bills met with, men came to see, though for some years but faintly, that the public credit of England might be carried to any height, proportioned to the extent of the taxes offered to obtain it, and to the honour with which they were applied. This, therefore, is the proper æra of public credit in England—An event which has been imputed to the policy of King William, in order to attach the public creditors, by their own interest, to the cause of the revolution; but which in reality arose from his necessities, and was the natural effect of natural causes; but an event by far the most important in the history of England, for two reasons. The first is, that by the crea-
tion

tion of a vast number of new offices necessary for collecting the new taxes, at the disposal of the crown, it has thrown a weight into the royal scale, which the house of Tudor, even in the plenitude of their power, never possessed: And the second is, that by the facility with which the public borrows, it has ever since been the cause of all the great exhibitions of England on the theatre of the world; and for the same reason, it will, if abused, insure the downfall of that power, as surely as a private person spending annually more than his income, will in the end become a bankrupt.

The remedies applied by Mr. Montague to the distresses of his country, were however taken advantage of. In order to hasten the payment of taxes, and to encourage the currency of exchequer bills, it had been provided, that from the date of their being paid upon taxes into the exchequer, they should be entitled to seven and a half *per cent.* of interest. Mr. Duncombe, and Mr. Knight, receiver-general of the excise, both members of the house, and others like them officers of the revenue, put false indorsements on many of the bills before they had been circulated at all; by which Duncombe acquired a fortune of four hundred thousand pounds. It was proved, that he had owned the truth of the complaint. They were both expelled the house, and a bill passed the commons to fine Mr. Duncombe half his estate; but it was rejected in the house of lords, by the casting vote of the Duke of Leeds, who was chairman of the committee. For the honour of the house of lords, this is the only instance in English history, in which the distribution of private money was suspected to have had influence with a number of the peers.

Mr. Duncombe and others called to account for revenue funds.

But amidst the attention of parliament to these internal objects, the minds of people in London were surprised almost in an instant, with the double alarm of an

Intrigue with France and the late King.

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intended invasion from France, and of an assassination of their sovereign. In the end of the year 1693, the adherents of the late King in England had pressed the French King, in a tone of impatience which almost bordered upon indecency, for an invasion of England *. The reasons on which they founded the probable success of it, were, " That the English fleet was to sail in " the spring, to convoy the merchantmen through the " Straits : That the troops would be sent in the spring " to the King in Flanders, by which there would not be " above four thousand left to defend England : That " the fodder in the country could not then be consumed : " That the annual supplies voted by parliament, could " not by that time be brought into the treasury : That " the approaching invasions with which William had " threatened France in a late speech to parliament, " would make it natural for the French to send troops " to the sea coasts, without any suspicion of their being " intended for any other purpose than to oppose them ; " and that the nation was full of discontents, occasioned " by the mismanagements of the fleet and of Ireland and " Scotland, the sufferings of trade, and a war without " glory." They asked at first thirty thousand men, but afterwards came down to twenty, and in the end to twelve thousand ; and in order to remove the difficulty of transporting horses, they engaged to have them ready in England, because that country was full of horses proper either for draught or for war ; and in war, from the weight of some, and the spirit of others, proper either for the charge or the skirmish. The chief persons who used these solicitations were the Queen's uncle, Lord Clarendon, the Lords Litchfield, Lindsay lord chamberlain, Yarmouth, Montgomery, son to the Mar-

* M^rPherson's State Papers, anno 1693 and 1694

quis of Pouls, Aylesbury, Poulet, Sunderland, Arran, son to the Duke of Hamilton, Breadalbane, and Forbes; Sir William Perkins, a citizen of great wealth; Sir John Friend, a gentleman of estate, one of the six clerks in chancery, and who had made himself remarkable by his violence on the tory side during the parliaments of Charles the Second; Major General Sir John Fenwick; Sir Andrew Forrester; Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe; Mr. Penn, the famous quaker, who used the best argument to persuade Louis to an invasion, for he said that one army in England would have more effect to break the league against France, than three any where else; Mr. Stroud, of Somersetshire; Colonel Selwyn; Sir John Knight; the Colonels Roe and Parker; Lieutenant Colonel Grenville, son to the Earl of Bath; and Fergusson, the Scotch clergyman, who had made himself so remarkable by the part he had acted in the Rye-house plot, and who now enjoyed a place under King William, but not suited, as he thought, to his services and dangers. All these men engaged to raise insurrections in different parts of the kingdom; and Sir William Perkins answered for the two regiments of city militia who guarded the Tower, and Sir John Friend* for a company of city clergymen who were to dethrone a protestant prince. But the late King, in order to satisfy himself of the sentiments of persons more near to the palace, sent over Captain Lloyd of the navy, groom of his bed-chamber, who had shown so much address in his negotiations with several of them before the battle of La Hogue. Lord Marlborough, with the experience of a soldier, said to Lloyd, "That the invasion ought to be made with twenty-five thousand troops, and seven thousand spare arms, and that the time of making the

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* Sir John Friend's trial.

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“ attempt was indifferent, provided it was accompanied
 “ with that force.” Lord Godolphin, with the intel-
 ligence of a man of business, advised “ the invasion to
 “ be put off till the autumn, because a sufficiency of
 “ French transports could be more easily collected in the
 “ course of the summer; and in the mean time the in-
 “ tended attack upon Breil, of which he had given in-
 “ formation to King James, would make it necessary
 “ for the French to have a great number of forces at
 “ that place, which they might afterwards carry where
 “ they pleased; the great ships of the English fleet
 “ would in autumn be laid up in harbour for the winter
 “ season, and their seamen dispersed, and their small
 “ ships gone to take care of their convoys of mer-
 “ chantmen.” Admiral Russel, who commanded the
 fleet, used the following expressions, which I transcribe
 literally from Lloyd’s report of his negotiations to King
 James: “ That, by God! he would undertake the bu-
 “ siness, and would communicate to Lord Marlborough
 “ from time to time the progress that he made.” When
 urged by Lloyd either to join the French fleet, or to let
 it pass, he, with the disdain of an officer and of an
 Englishman, refused to do either, and swearing according
 to the manner of his sea companions, added, “ That he
 “ would do the business, but do it himself alone.” And
 when pressed to explain what he would do, he preserved
 the obstinate silence of a man habituated to the possession
 of despotic power on his own element; only repeating,
 “ That he would undertake the business, and that Lord
 “ Shrewsbury and Lord Marlborough should be judges
 “ of his actions.” But Lloyd received most encourage-
 ment from a circumstance of which the old Countess
 of Shrewsbury (whose son he could not see without equal
 danger to both in the conspicuous situation of secretary
 of state, in which Lord Shrewsbury then stood) in-
 formed.

formed him, that William was to go to Holland early in the spring, and to leave the government in the hands of his consort, who would implicitly follow the advices of the Lords Caermarthen and Shrewsbury, that is to say, of the two best friends whom the late King had in England. It is not singular that Lloyd did not at this time see or hear of Lord Sunderland; because the late King concealed from almost all, his secret correspondence with Sunderland, which was conducted solely through Lord Arran, his son-in-law, being ashamed to let others know that he had any connexion with a man who had deceived and betrayed him. Sunderland at this time possessed much of the confidence of King William, because he had reconciled the whigs to him, and him to the whigs; so that he stood in the most singular of all situations, employed and trusted by two rival Princes, both of whom were ashamed to avow their connexions with him.

Other circumstances, not singular indeed, but curious in the intrigues of that period, appear in the papers of King James in the Scotch college at Paris; for, while both whigs and tories were soliciting Louis to an invasion of England, the tories were warning James to put no confidence in the whigs, and the whigs warning him to put as little in the tories. Lord Marlborough endeavoured to instil into the mind of James, suspicions of Admiral Russel, in order to shew the sincerity of his own attachment. The court of St. Germain's was divided into two parties, called compounders and non-compounders, headed by two Scotchmen, Lord Middleton and Lord Melfort, one of whom maintained that King James should make concessions to the liberties of his people in order to be restored, the other that he should not. And on these principles the two parties disputed, hated and suspected each other, as heartily as

if

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1696.

Intended
invasion
from France,

if they had been in possession of all the great offices at Whitehall. Men in England too, asked and intrigued at St. Germain's, for the future disposal of places and honours in England*, as if the power of conferring them had been already in him to whom the applications were made.

To all solicitations, however, for an invasion, the French court, which, in the winter of the year 1693, was endeavouring to bring about a peace with England, and considered the interests of King James only as they could be made subservient to those of France, lent a deaf ear, one minister shifting the business upon another†, under pretence that it was not in his department; and all of them making the excuses which French ministers have always had at hand, to the Stuart family, when they were resolved not to do what was asked of them,—of want of money, difficulty of transporting troops from France, and of finding a place of security in England for the ships which conveyed them, and the general danger of the attempt.—But now, in the winter of the year 1695, when the prospects of peace were all over, all these excuses flew off; and Louis, pretending that the occasion was more favourable on account of the death of William's consort than it had been two years before, offered to land James in his own kingdom with a great French force, though the treasury of France had not been made fuller by two years of war, nor the difficulties and dangers of the attempt diminished; and there were then 14,000 troops in England‡, instead of the 4000 which had been there in the year 1693; the coin was in a train of being repaired; the mismanagements of the fleet and of Ireland, and the losses of trade,

* Commons Journals, page 179.

† M^r Pherfon's State Papers, vol. 1. p. 495.

‡ Ibid. vol. 1. p. 252. and 520.

almost

almost forgot; the command of the three seas recovered; the face of the war at land changed; and a steady parliament had succeeded to one whose movements were uncertain.

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James, upon this offer, sent his emissaries to rouse his friends in England, who engaged to raise insurrections in many places, and the Duke of Berwick was sent over to command them. As the French were accustomed to send every winter a fleet of victuallers and store ships to the sea-coast of Flanders, for the use of the armies during the ensuing campaign there, above 300 transports were assembled under that pretence, at Dunkirk and Calais, without suspicion; above 20,000 troops were suddenly brought to the same places, from the surrounding garrisons, by Marechal Boufflers. The Dutch, frightened by a bustle on the sea coasts so near them*, imagined there was a design against Zealand, and made preparations against it: But nobody suspected that England was the object. The late King arrived at Calais on the 17th of February old style; but it was not heard of in England till the 2d of March, and then only from Paris†.

But while these great preparations were making against England on the continent, a more important blow was aiming against her at home. Sir George Barclay, formerly a Scots officer, and now lieutenant-colonel to the late King's regiment of horse guards‡, aged above 60 years, a man equally intriguing, daring, and cautious, had, for some years, in conjunction with one Captain Williamson, been employed by James§ in negotiations with his adherents in England. Either driven by the fury of his own spirit, or tired with the prospect of doing nothing remarkable during the remaining years of

and assassination of the King.

* M^rPherson's State Papers, vol. 1. p. 255.

† Gazette, 2d March 1695-6.

‡ Gazette, 2d April 1696.

§ M^rPherson's State Papers, vol. 1. p. 463.

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his life, or suspicious of the political courage of the English, which his countrymen were in that age too apt to despise, because themselves, without employment at home, were accustomed to shed their blood in every service in Europe, he formed the project of assassinating the King. As it is the mark of all bad men to be cunning, and of cunning men to take a round-about way instead of the straight road to their object, and to make their advances to it step by step, he got Williamson, not in his own name, but in that of another, to bring under the eye of King James, the idea not of assassinating his rival, but of seizing his person; for Williamson's report of his own negotiations in England to King James, contains these words*: "Sir John Friend hopes also, by a stratagem, to seize the Prince and Princess of Orange, and to bring them to your Majesty." Offers were afterwards made by different persons to the court of St. Germain's †, to assassinate William; but received with detestation by James, whose religious turn of mind, and whose honour, restrained him from such crimes. But these refusals were probably imputed by Barclay to hypocrisy and affectation, and therefore he took his own way. He proposed the matter to some officers, covering it at first under the name of a military enterprise to seize the person of an enemy in time of war, and from thence afterwards inferring the necessity and right of killing him if he resisted. When he had got his friends to adopt this reasoning, he then openly proposed a direct assassination, as a shorter way, and safer for themselves: But even then he proposed it should be done by what he sometimes called an *ambuscade*; and at other times, an *attack* on the guards while they were *escorting* their *general* from *place* to *place*. In order to hide the sight of

* M. Pherson's State Papers, vol. 1. p. 467.

† M. Pherson's State Papers.

remorse from their own minds, or perhaps deceived by false ideas of honour, the officers objected, that as they were military men, they must have a military commission to perform a military service. Barclay, knowing well that he could not get the commission which they wished for, obtained a common general one from James, to levy war in England against the Prince of Orange and his adherents, under the pretence that without commissions it would be found difficult to levy men for his service. The officers were about ten in number, the highest of whom in rank was Lieutenant Colonel Lowick; but the most remarkable was Captain Charnock, formerly fellow of Magdalene college, who had been one of the instruments to serve King James in invading the rights of that college, and who now shewed that the distance is small between a dependent, a criminal, and a cowardly spirit. To these a few others who were not officers, joined themselves by means of Barclay. The plan concerted was to keep a party of forty men in waiting, in inns and other places in Brentford and Turnham Green; and to attack the King in the middle of his guards, in the lane between those two villages, in his way from the country, from whence he returned every Saturday to attend divine worship the next day in London.

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The time fixed for the attack was the 15th of February; but the day before, two of the officers, separately, and unknown to each other, Captain Fisher, and Captain Pendergrafs, who was a man of family in Ireland, gave information to Lord Portland of the King's danger. Fisher said, his only reason was, that his mind was unhappy with the dishonour of the action; but refused to name his accomplices, and then fled from the sight of man, and was never heard of more. Pendergrafs also refused to accuse others. The King, who was void of suspicion, because he was brave, gave little attention to

PART III. the discovery, and put off his ordinary journey to the
 BOOK IV. country for a week, merely in compliment to the friendly
 1696. anxiety of Lord Portland. But a third informer presenting himself some days after, who could give only a few indistinct circumstances, the King sent for Pendergrafs, flattered him on his birth and character of a gentleman, and added with simplicity, that "the life which he had saved could not be preserved, unless the persons were known who had combined to take it away." Pendergrafs then gave a list of his associates, and was ordered to find out their places of abode. In the mean time, the King a second time put off his journey to the country, which had been fixed for the 22d of the month. The wary Barclay, who had imputed the first delay to chance, saw design in the second, and absconded: The rest were seized that evening in their beds,

Fate of conspirators.

As the most daring in wickedness are commonly the most cowardly upon the detection of it, Captain Porter, who had solicited to be allowed to strike the first blow at the King, now solicited to turn evidence; and Charnock, who had gone much between France and England in negotiations with the court of St. Germain, sent a message to the King, that he would disclose the names of all those who had employed him in England*, if his punishment was changed from death into perpetual imprisonment; a commutation which any other person, who had attempted an assassination, and had betrayed the lives of his friends, would have accounted an aggravation of misery. The King generously answered, "I wish not to know them." When Sir William Perkins was questioned by the Marquis of Winchester at the head of a committee of the house of commons, after condemnation, but with the hopes of life, he acknowledged his

* Burnet.

accession to the assassination, and that he was ashamed of it; and added, that he had engaged a troop of horse for the insurrection: But when desired to name the persons who were to compose his troop, he answered, "I will not redeem my own blood at the expence of theirs who were drawn in by me;" and therefore his fate was pitied by all, when * that of Sir John Friend, who maintained the same honour to his friends, was neglected, because he had not the talent of expressing it so well. All the prisoners, with their last breath, acquitted the late King of any knowledge of the intended assassination: And yet Burnet, a protestant bishop, has, in a history equally loose in its facts and in its style, endeavoured to fix a crime on King James, which his more generous rival never imputed to him. Of ten who were taken, eight were executed, and two pardoned.

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The first knowledge of the intended invasion, came from the same persons who had given information of the assassination; but later, because the attention of all was at first ingrossed by the safety of the King. But he, who had delayed making enquiries when his own danger was alone concerned, went instantly, on Monday the 24th of February, to parliament, when he heard of the nation's danger, and, in a speech, gave an account of both the invasion and assassination. The suddenness with which the information came upon the members of the houses, the junction of the two objects which it contained, and the intimate connection which that junction shewed there was between the interests of the nation and the safety of the King's person, added weight to the impression which his speech made. The house of commons unanimously, and without rising from their seats, framed an association, to be signed by all their members, in which they declared, "That William was their right-ful and lawful King; that they would defend him

General
association;

* Commons Journals, ad April 1696,

PART III. "against the late King, and all his adherents; and in
 BOOK IV. "case he came to a violent death, that they would
 1696. "revenge it on his enemies," The peers, with some

Invasion
 disappointed.

trifling alterations of expression, joined in the association.

As the discovery, the King's visit to parliament, and the association, passed all in the course of two days, the news of them came with as much surprise upon France, as they had done upon England. But there, every thing proved unfortunate for James, who was then waiting at Calais, impatient for intelligence from England, and throwing many a longing look to a country in which he expected so soon to reign. A tract of westerly winds had detained the English fleet at home which was intended for the Straits, by which the English were masters of the Channel; and their fleet was commanded by the same Ruffel who had defeated the French fleet in the same sea four years before, after he had given that promise to avoid it, which to Captain Lloyd he had lately refused. A French fleet of transports had been shattered by a storm, in coming from Havre to Calais. The Duke of Berwick, shocked to find that he was amidst assassins instead of loyalists, and that his reputation might be involved in theirs, returned to France, and thereby disappointed insurrections in England. Louis, whose only object was, as it has ever been that of the French court in their pretences to serve the Stuart family, to create mischief in England, had declared, that he would send no troops to England until he saw insurrections there; and therefore he took advantage of this circumstance, to excuse himself from venturing his troops alone, and unsupported by those who he expected were to have paid the way for them. He dispersed his armament; and James returned to St. Germain's, to compose prayers which he every day repeated, in which he thanked God that he had lost his kingdom, because it had been the means of saving his soul *.

* M^rPherson's State Papers, vol. 1.

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BOOK IV.1695.
Use made of
association,

The simplicity of William's character, who, loving real grandeur, despised on that account the shew of it, had given him a natural dislike to public addresses. Of this an instance was reported to have displayed itself on a public court day, when the mayor of a borough presenting an address, which mixed compliments for the success of Namur with condolence for the death of the Queen, and introducing himself by saying, that "he came with joy in the one hand, and grief in the other;" the King interrupted him with these words, "Pray put them both into one hand, good Mr. Mayor." From the same turn of mind, he had declined not only public addresses, but even private compliments from his friends, when he escaped the intended blow of Grandvill two years before. But now when he saw that he could turn manifestations of public zeal into an engine of state, and even rear upon them national acknowledgments, and declarations of that title to the throne, which many, on account of the Queen's death, were apt to call in question, he gave every encouragement to associations. Both houses concurred in compelling their members to sign the association, which acknowledged his title to the throne. At the request of the house of commons, it was lodged, with all other copies of it signed any where else, in the records of the Tower, as a monument of the loyalty and affection of the people of England. From parliament, it ran through all the British dominions both at home and abroad. All persons in public situations in life, in Britain, were compelled by penalties to sign it; and private mingling itself with public passion, it was signed by an infinite number of individuals. So that an attempt to take from him his kingdom and life, seated him more firmly on the throne than an hundred acts of parliament could have done. e

A P P E N D I X

T.O

P A R T III. B O O K IV.

THE Americans owe at present four millions sterling of debts to British subjects. Various plans have been proposed to effectuate payment. They all fail in this respect, that they suggest no provision for putting the Americans in a capacity to pay. The chief use of history is to show men what they are to follow, and what to avoid, by the experience of their ancestors; and therefore I submit the following plan, founded on Mr. Montague's principles, to the consideration of both countries.

America is now in a similar situation with that of England during the first years of King William's reign, in four respects. 1st, She owes an external debt of four millions to British subjects: In the same way, England owed five millions to her soldiers and seamen, who were mostly abroad. 2d, She owes an internal public debt, contracted during the war: England owed a similar debt; but with this difference, that the American debt is small in comparison of what the English debt was,—3dly, America requires annual supplies of taxes to carry on her government: England required them also; but with this difference, that the supplies required by America at present to carry on her government, are a trifle, whereas the demands of England were great, because there was a great war to maintain.—Lastly, America has

has little coin: England at that time had not much; and yet had vast demands upon her for it, to carry on her commerce, to pay the interest of her debts, to maintain an expensive civil government, above 40,000 seamen, and above 80,000 troops, and to subsidize foreign Princes.

The supposed dishonesty of Americans to their British creditors, or rather perhaps their real inability to do what they wish to do, arises from their want of coin, or of a substitute for coin: For, to expect them to pay a great external and internal debt, and carry on their government, without coin, or a substitute for coin, that is, to pay without any instrument of payment, is one vision; and to expect America, with her poverty, to pay the principal sum of her external and internal debt, when England, France, and Holland, with all their wealth, cannot, is another vision.

But if the American States (with or without the intervention of British commissioners to attend to the interests of British creditors in the liquidation of their debts) will apply Mr. Montague's principles and practice to the present condition of their country, they will find the remedy for the evil even in the evil itself, for the benefit of the British creditors; and they will find a certain good to spring out of that remedy, for the benefit of America itself.

Let the American States, in the *first* place, provide a fund of taxes sufficient to pay more than the interest of their internal and external debts, and sufficient also to pay either the sum annually required to carry on their government, or the interest of a sum borrowed for carrying it on, if they have not taxes sufficient to raise an annual supply for that purpose; but which borrowing will not be necessary except for a few years at the beginning, till public credit shall be established; because,
after

after that period, it will be the fault of America herself, if she does not pay off debts, instead of increasing them.

The States should, in the *second* place, convert the above debts (whether internal, or external, or new borrowings to carry on for a few years their government) into public transferable securities, and make provision for the exact application of those taxes to the payment of the interest of the debts, in the same way that Mr. Montague did.

Lastly, In order to give currency to these transferable securities (or, to give them a more simple name, to this paper money), it should be received in payment of taxes to the State, and of borrowings by the State, in the same way as was provided by Mr. Montague.

Objection. It may be objected, that it is unjust to make the *American public* pay the debts of *American private persons*; that the American public will be a loser by the bargain, and therefore will never agree to it.

Answer. Public bodies, like private persons, submit to hardships when they are to reap benefit from them. The States will agree, if a way can be fallen upon to make the public a gainer in the end, and to save it from loss in the mean time.

Now, the way to compass the first of these ends is, 1st, for the American States, in return for the transferable securities which they give for the payment of the interests of the debts of the British creditors, to be put in the place of those creditors, so as to enable the States to recover the debts in America; and, 2dly, that these debts, as fast as recovered, shall be converted into a fund, to make a solid bottom for a bank of circulation like that of England, to be the property of the American public; and which bank will gradually extend itself for the accommodation of public and private credit as they

shall extend themselves, because the debts recovered will be gradually falling into it.

With regard to ways of saving the public of America from loss, or at least from any considerable loss, there are many. Some of the debts could be called in instantly. Securities for the payment of the interest annually, and of the principal by instalments, might be taken on the real estates of others, or upon the personal estates of them and their friends, when they had no real estates. To ease the debtors, and yet to give benefit to the public, payment of many of the debts might be taken in the produce of the country, for example in the tobaccos of Chesapeake Bay, and the rice of the Carolinas; and these sold to foreign nations, with the stamp of the public upon them, to vouch the goodness of their quality, would acquire an additional value. In order to obtain the ends of easing the debtor, and of getting benefit for the State still farther, that produce might be exported, upon a *premium* by the State, to respectable bodies of merchants in Britain, to be received for behoof of the British proprietors in the American funds. This last is not difficult to be executed: All the tobaccos received in France and Spain are consigned to a few hands; and the diamonds of the Brazilles go to one house in Lisbon. But above all, England might give advantages to American trade without hurting her own, to make up the public loss, and to reward the public honour of America. These are arrangements which could be contrived in half a day, by one (Doctor Franklin) who has shown that he can conduct the lightning of the skies, and who, by contriving these arrangements, would crown the good he has done to his own, and make up for the mischief he has done to this country. Such mutual concessions would tend to reconcile the humours of men to each other,

whose interests, in spite of those humours, must long be the same.

The advantages which would redound to America from adopting such views, are the following :

1st, Her empire of dominion, and her empire of commerce (for they must be blind indeed who do not see how immense this last empire must be if honour be made its basis), will start from the noblest of all goals, the goal of public honour, and of national fidelity of character ; — circumstances which support the public credit of England, and the private credit of the Spanish nation, more than any other. At present, the ships of all countries stand aloof from the coasts of America ; but they would then press forward to reach them. He must be a bad merchant indeed, who does not see that a little character is worth a little money.

2dly, America would be supplied with an immediate substitute for her want of coin, just as England was by Mr. Montague's scheme ; and this relief, by the vigour which it always gives to industry and trade, would supply America with coin, just as coin was drawn into England by Mr. Montague's scheme. No bank can stand without an equivalent security within itself, for the notes which it issues. The debts recovered and sent to the bank, would form that security ; and then the bank, either established at one station, or, which would be much better, divided into three or four branches, placed at different great stations of America for the sake of the greater convenience to business, would give new wings to the circulation of private credit ; and also to public credit ; for, supported by the State, the bank would for its own interest support the State. The consequence of the firm establishment of private and public credit obtained by those operations, would be, and at no very

distant period, that foreign nations would throw their money into the public funds of America, with as little fear as they do into those of their own country: And the consequence of that confidence again would be, that British merchants possessed of property in the public funds of America, would make payments often in that property, and trade often upon it; and America would remit her payments almost always in her own produce, and carry on her trade, and take her station high in the rank of nations, either for defence or for offence, on the money of other countries.

B O O K V.

*CAUSES of the Peace of Ryswic.—Peace of Ryswic.
 —Provision for a Commercial Treaty.—Lord
 Portland's Embassy to France.—King William's Offers
 to the Family of the late King.*

Anno 1697.

WARS of great exertion carry along with them the causes of their own termination: These are, want of provisions, want of men, and want of money. When the youth of a country go to war, the fields remain uncultivated, and consequently yield little food; when every private family has lost a son or a brother, levies are no longer to be made without difficulty; and when the public treasures are given away to men who return nothing to the public, and by the loss of their industry and labour take a great deal from it, the treasury is exhausted. The truth of these observations is proved by the state of the belligerent powers of Europe in the year 1696.

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 the peace of
 Ryswic.

During some years previous to the peace of Ryswic, the price of corn in England was double, and in Scotland quadruple its ordinary rate; and in one of those years, it was believed that 80,000 people died of want in the last of these countries. The sufferings of France were

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were far greater than those of England*: Nor could it be otherwise, because the laws of France not only gave no bounty on the exportation of corn, but did not permit it to be exported at all, nor at that time to be transported even from one province to another without duties. The consequence of this was, that every province raised annually only as much corn as was thought sufficient for supplying itself; and when other provinces called for help, had none to send: And France could get no supplies from the southern nations, because she was at war with them. Whereas in England, the bounty given by law in the beginning of this King's reign, upon the exportation of corn when cheap, tempted the farmer to raise a greater quantity than he had formerly done, by insuring him of a market whether corn was cheap or dear; and England could get supplies from the southern nations, and even from her own American settlements.

Second
cause.

Again, during the war, England paid upon an average yearly, of her own and foreign troops, about 80,000 landmen and 40,000 seamen, exclusive of the regiments maintained by Scotland and Ireland, which were near 20,000 more. Holland maintained at least an equal number with England, for she had considerably above 100,000 forces in her pay †; and Burchet, secretary to the Admiralty of England, says, that the ships of the Dutch were in the proportion of five to eight of the English: The rest of the alliance supplied above 200,000 forces ‡, besides the seamen of the Spanish fleet. On the other hand, France was superior in number of land forces to her enemies every where, and must have had an equal number of seamen with the Dutch and English joined together, because she had 80 ships of the line,

* Memoirs of Feuquier, vol. 2^d book 7.

† Commons Journals, 8th December 1693, and 26th November 1694, Tyndal, p. 259.

‡ Commons Journals.

according

according to the authority of Mr. Burchet, and they had no more; and because the French fleet is always more fully manned than that of England or Holland; so that the whole men in arms must have been near a million. Sir John Pringle, in his accurate book on the Diseases of the Army, shews that the annual loss of men in the campaigns in which he was physician to the army, was one out of seventeen, besides those who died in battle, or of their wounds: But the proportion of natural deaths among the seamen, is far greater. Add to these, the numbers who died in battle, or of their wounds, by land and sea; and suppose them to have been 30,000 in a year taken collectively, in all the different theatres of the war, in Catalonia, Piedmont, and Italy; on the Moselle and the Rhine; in the Netherlands, Ireland, and Hungary; and in the Channel, the ocean, and the Mediterranean; and on the coasts of the West Indies, America, and the East Indies: Then, on those calculations, the probable loss of men in the nine years of the war, could not be less than 800,000, besides a probably equal number of the aged, of women, and of children, who perished in silent misery at home, from want of care, and of their usual supplies of food.

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Lastly *, the war cost England 60 millions sterling; for so a protest in the house of lords avers, which, among seventeen peers, was signed by the Duke of Leeds, Lord Nottingham, and the Marquis of Normanby, who surely had good access to know the truth. The war could not cost less to Holland. And supposing all the other allies taken together to have advanced only a sum equal to those two nations, the whole must have amounted to 240 millions. And France could not expend less; because although the clothing and pay of her troops were cheaper than those of England or Holland, yet she had,

Third cause.

* Journals house of commons 26:h March 1701, p. 434.

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as she always has, a much greater proportion of officers and men on board her ships than England or Holland; but the expence of every seaman is equal to that of four landmen: And the expence of her land forces was increased by the remoteness of the expeditions which they were obliged to make to arrive at their enemies. If to this waste of money be added, that the labour of a healthy man is worth ten pounds a year upon an average of nations; then the loss of the labour of near a million of soldiers and seamen annually, was, in nine years, ninety millions sterling, besides the loss of the labour for life, of all those who died in the campaign, or in battle, or of their wounds: And therefore, the whole expence of the war, including the interest of money, which, in that age, was high even to the richest nations, could not be under seven hundred millions, of which one-half fell on France.

But the want of money was most felt in England; because the Germans, the Duke of Savoy, and even the King of Spain (whose treasures were detained in the New World, by the danger of bringing them home during war), who had little money and no credit, went no further than to adapt their exertions to the usual extent of their finances; the French King could levy from his subjects, what he pleased, by his mere will; and the Dutch, who were accustomed to borrow on remote funds, got money with ease, and at a cheap rate. Whereas in England, the King could levy no money without the consent of his subjects, and the practice of borrowing on distant funds was till this reign unknown; the English having supported their ancient wars in France by the plunder of their enemies, and the ransom of prisoners; their civil wars, by plundering each other; Cromwell and Charles the Second their short wars, the one by excessive despotic temporary taxes, and the other by robbing
the

the exchequer, and getting pensions from France. But when King William came to maintain a war of long duration, with armies of such numbers of men; with arms, ammunition, and artillery of such an expence; with ships of such a size; forming magazines not by rapine, but by purchase, because the war was in a friend's country; and attacking and defending strong places * with such a waste of money, as were unknown in former times; it became impossible to do it with taxes raised within the year; and therefore the public was obliged to mortgage the taxes, and to borrow money on the credit of them. In order to tempt lenders to part with their money, many lures were thrown out to them: An instant tax was assigned to some for their speedy repayment; this was called borrowing on anticipation: And perpetual taxes to others, for a perpetual security; this was called funding. Some got taxes assigned to them for a certain number of years; others chose rather to hold them during the uncertainty of a number of lives: And hence the fashion of annuities and survivances, so expensive to the public then, and so fatal to the extravagance of youths of family since. The privilege of gaming was given to some, and monopolies to others, in return for their relieving the necessities of the state: To the one, lotteries owe their origin: And to the other,

* Voltaire, who was a well-informed historian when he could take the trouble to be so, gives the following enumeration of the French preparations for the siege of Turin: " There were brought to the siege, a hundred and forty pieces of cannon, each of which, when mounted, cost two thousand crowns. There were a hundred and ten thousand ball, and a hundred and six thousand cartridges of one kind, and three hundred thousand of another kind, 21,000 bombs, 28,000 grenades, 15,000 bags of sand, 30,000 instruments for pioneers, 1,200,000 pounds of powder. Add to these, the lead, the iron, and the tin, the ropes, every thing that is necessary for the miners, the sulphur, the saltpetre, utensils of all kinds."

He concludes with this wise remark, that " the expence of all these preparations of destruction would have been sufficient to found and to cause the greatest colony to flourish."

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several of the great companies, and particularly the Bank of England, which, by discounting the bills of private persons, and discounting in a manner the public taxes by paying them before they were due, has supported the immense fabric of English credit against the storms of private and national misfortunes, and wars, and rebellions, and the bankruptcy of other nations. To the same necessity of giving way to monopolies, the East India Company owes also its rise, which, under the name of a body of traders, is a mighty republic, commands an army of seventy thousand troops, and a revenue of five millions, has extended the glories of England by its conquests, and her disgraces by its rapines. But notwithstanding all these temptations to please all in their different humours, the fears of men concerning the stability of a new government, on which they thought the security of their repayment depended, and still more of the nature of securities for money to which they had not been accustomed, was the cause why King William's parliaments found more difficulty to get money at an interest of eight *per cent.* when the nation was but a few millions in debt, than their posterity do now in getting it at half that interest, when they owe above two hundred and fifty millions.

The effects of those three combined causes had appeared strongly in the campaign of the year 1696: For the armies of all the belligerent powers lay inactive, because almost unable to hurt each other any longer, in garrisons, or in camps that resembled garrisons, amidst starving nations, depopulated countries, and exhausted treasuries: And these miseries which the war had created, led naturally to the termination of it. France, which suffered most, made the first advances to peace: England and Holland, which suffered next, next followed; Charles the Second of Spain, and the emperor, who had suffered

suffered least, opposed it; the one, irritated by the sense of the injuries which he had received almost from his birth from Louis, though his brother-in-law; and the other, because he wished hostilities to continue for ever between the French and Spanish Kings, in order to promote his own views to the Spanish succession, in which the first of those Princes was his chief rival; and which he thought the other would not bequeath during war, to one who was slaughtering his people, stopping the passage of his treasures from the New World, and carrying a civil war into the bowels of his country.

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But the Duke of Vendôme in the mean time, in the year 1697, taking Barcelona, and De Ponti the French admiral taking Carthagena on the Spanish main, where he gained two millions sterling of treasure, Charles trembled for his dominions both in Spain and America. And the Duke of Savoy having been gained by money from France, by the vanity of marrying his daughter to the son of the Dauphin, and perhaps what weighed with him more than either, by the grant of Pignerol, which was the key of France into Piedmont, to quit the grand alliance, and even to take the command of that French army which a few weeks before he had opposed at the head of the emperor's army; the emperor became afraid, and with reason, of the future defection of Holland and England, and that France, with the army which she had employed against the Duke of Savoy, and the Duke with his own army, might instantly fall upon him in Italy, first consented to a neutrality there, and afterwards to a general peace. Louis restored all the conquests which he had made during the war, together with some of his usurpations previous to it; and in concurrence with the other powers of Europe, acknowledged the title of William to the British crowns. France lost nothing by the war but Pignerol. The Germans and Spaniards

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got only their own back again. But the Dutch and English esteemed they had gained every thing; the first, when a power of keeping garrisons in the Spanish towns in the Netherlands, in order to form a barrier to themselves against France, was conferred upon them, which involved in it the honour of protecting that power which had formerly oppressed them; and the last, when, by the establishment of the Revolution, and the renunciation of the cause of James by all the world, they gained their liberty. The house of commons spoke the voice of all England, when, in their congratulatory address to the King, they said, "The period of the war has confirmed us in the possession of our rights and liberties, and so fully completed the glorious work of our Revolution." A generous principle of joy! because national wealth or power, without liberty, is only splendid misery.

The wife, however, in England, could not help observing, that though the superiority of the naval arms of England over those of France was so great, that the number of guns taken in ships of war from the French was 2224, and those of the English by the French only 1112*, and that the navies of France during the four last years of the war, had hardly dared to stir from their harbours, or done it only by stealth; yet that neither England nor Holland had during the war destroyed one harbour, or made themselves masters of one colony or one plantation belonging to France, except the fort of Pondicherry, which the Dutch had seized, anxious, like merchants, for the fate of the trade of their East India Company.

But those who thought for nations, and felt for human nature, reflected with regret, that at the end of a nine years war, in which the lives of 800,000 soldiers and seamen had been lost, and 700 millions spent; none of

* Burchet, p. 407.

the contending powers had gained one penny of money; or almost one foot of territory.

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Provision
for a com-
mercial
treaty.

During the course of the war, the English and French, from mutual animosity, had laid such excessive duties on the commodities of each other, as could not have failed, after the peace, to diminish the commerce between the two countries, and to force it into contraband importations; and therefore, in the articles of peace, an opening was made to remedy this evil, by a provision for a future commercial treaty, in which justice might be done to both nations, upon equitable concessions to be made by both. But the provision was not carried into execution: For, while some in England maintained, "That in a commerce with France as free as with other countries, England must have the advantage, because she would find in France a market of twenty millions of customers for her commodities, when France could find in England a market only of six millions;" others reasoned, or might have reasoned, "That even the greatness of the market would make England depend upon France too much for a market; because by withdrawing it, she might distress England when she pleased: That the Florentines, as the historian Guicciardine relates, had been intimidated from espousing the cause of Italy, upon the invasion of Charles the Eighth, by the danger of losing their commerce with France: That Louis the Fourteenth had held out his tariffs to the Dutch commerce, sometimes as a lure, and sometimes as a scourge: That as there had been an Italian and French party in Florence, and was then a Dutch and French party in Holland; so in England there would arise, in future times, an English and a French party, in which the landed interest, looking forward to future security, would take the one side, and the manufacturers and

"merchants,

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“merchants, who look only at immediate profit, the other; and that therefore the question was, whether England would prefer wealth to power? But that there was another way to insure both, to wit, by bounties, drawbacks of duties, and every encouragement political and commercial, to rear up her own colonies into an empire of customers.”—It is a true saying; that what is likely to happen, does not always happen. England preferred the second of those alternatives; and that empire of customers became an empire of enemies, in alliance with that very France from which it had often been protected by the mother country. The other alternative is now tried by the late commercial treaty with France. That that treaty will add wealth to British commerce, and increase British revenue, not only by the extent of the market, but by the interruption of contraband commerce, is certain. But whether Britain may by that means exchange trade for manufacture; the rudder for the shuttle, and lose in consequence, in power, and in empire, what she gains in money; experience, not probability, will determine. Should that change come about, the partridge is at present only fattening for the hawk.

Lord Portland's embassy.

King William was in Holland when the peace of Ryswic was signed. But though he was so simple in his own manners as to stop the erection of triumphal arches which were preparing in London on the peace, in honour of his return; yet he could display all the show of parade, when he thought it could do honour to his kingdom, or his friends. He therefore sent the Earl of Portland ambassador to France, to compliment the French King, at an expence, as was reported, of eighty thousand pounds. In compliment to the taste of Louis, who had many men of letters about his court, Lord Portland carried with him as his secretary, Mr. Prior the poet,

afterwards so famous for his negotiations at the end of Queen Anne's reign. The parade of Lord Portland is forgot, when a saying of Prior is remembered; for, one of the French courtiers having shewn him the actions of Louis painted in the gallery of Versailles, and asked in what manner King William's were painted at Whitehall, Prior answered, "My master's actions are to be seen every where, except in his own house."

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The peace was accompanied with two pieces of intended generosity by the King to the exiled family. By the one, he obliged himself to pay fifty thousand pounds a year to King James's Queen, the jointure to which she would have been entitled had her husband died King of England. By the other, he consented that the young son of King James should be educated a protestant in England, and succeed to the crown at the end of the present reign. The evidence of this last fact, though long known to some, came only lately to the knowledge of all, from James's own memoirs in the Scots college at Paris: And the merit or demerit of no action of William's life has been more the subject of difference, in private opinion at least, than this one: For, while some have thought, that the punishing the guilty father, and restoring the innocent son, would have made the justice of the Revolution complete, and thrown out a sufficient terror to all succeeding princes; others with more reason have said, "That the measure could not have failed to sow dissensions in the nation, by bringing a rival to cope with the reigning King in his palace: That the old race of princes would have come to the throne, with old claims like Charles the Second, and old enmities like James the Second; whereas a new family could be brought in upon new conditions, would be dependent for possession upon the observance of those conditions, and, having neither given nor received injuries,

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the late
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“injuries, could have no hostile minds to any of their subjects, nor any of their subjects to them.” The same folly about religion which made James lose his throne, lost the reversion of it to his son; for, he refused the offer, under pretence that his accepting it was an acknowledgment of his abdication, but in reality because he would not permit the Prince to be bred a protestant. He also disappointed his Queen of her jointure; for, Lord Portland and Marechal Boufflers, who had verbally settled the agreement about the jointure, having differed in their account of the terms of it, the one averring the condition of the gift to have been, that James’s family was to reside in the south of France, or in Italy, and the other denying it, James refused to quit the neighbourhood of England; and Louis was ashamed to press him to quit it, lest his doing so had been imputed to a desire to disburden himself of the expence of supporting the court of James, by laying it on King William.

B O O K VI.

Adventures of Paterfon, and Description of Darien. — Paterfon's original Intention. — Alters it. — Darien Company erected. — England opposes it. — The Scots support it. — Fate of the first Colony. — William recommends an Union of Kingdoms to give England the Benefit of Darien. — Fate of the second Colony. — Reflections. — Appendix. — Mr. Paterfon's last Plan for the Darien Company, and Account of the Country by him.

A. D. 1698, 1699.

THE peace of Ryſwic was ſucceeded by an event, which had well nigh created a civil war between Scotland and England. As the writers of no nation are more marked by grandeur and meanness of compoſition in the ſame perſon, and the actors in public life by grandeur and meanness of character in the ſame perſon, than thoſe of England; ſo the proceedings of the national aſſembly of England, the nobleſt that ever was on earth, except that of Rome, are often tinctured with a ſtrange mixture of the great and the little. Of this truth an inſtance appeared at this time in the proceedings of parliament, with regard to the Scots colony of Darien ſettled by Mr. Paterſon; of which colony I proceed to give an account more authentic than has hitherto met the public eye, becauſe I have had acceſs to the papers of the company, ſome of which are in the advocates li-
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Adventures
of Paterfon,
and descrip-
tion of Da-
rien.

brary, and others in the exchequer at Edinburgh, and to the family-papers of many who were the chief actors in the company's affairs.

The birth of Paterfon is unknown. It is probable he had education, becaufe he expreffed himfelf well in writing, and had a good addrefs. He was bred to the church; but having a violent propenſity to fee foreign countries, he made his profeſſion the inſtrument of indulging it, by going to the new weſtern world, under pretence of converting the Indians to the religion of the old world. In his courſes there, he became acquainted with Captain Dampier and Mr. Wafer, who afterwards published, the one his voyages, and the other his travels, in the regions where the ſeparation is narroweſt between the Atlantic and the South Seas, and both of whom, particularly the firſt, appear by their books to have been men of conſiderable obſervation. But he got much more knowledge from men who could neither write nor read, by cultivating the acquaintance of ſome of the old buccaneers, who, after ſurviving their glories and their crimes, ſtill, in the extremity of age and miſfortune, recounted with tranſport the eaſe with which they had paſſed and repaſſed from the one ſea to the other, ſometimes in hundreds together, and driving ſtrings of mules before them loaded with the plunder of friends and of foes. Paterfon having examined the places, ſatisfied himſelf, that on the iſthmus of Darien there was a tract of country running acroſs from the Atlantic to the South Sea, which the Spaniards had never poſſeſſed, and inhabited by a people continually at war with them; that along the coaſt, on the Atlantic ſide, there lay a ſtring of iſlands called the Sambaloes, uninhabited, and full of natural ſtrengths and forests; from which laſt circumſtance, one of them was called the Iſland of Pines; that the ſeas there were filled with turtle, and the manatee or

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sea cow; that midway between Portobello and Carthage, but near fifty leagues distant from either, at a place called Acta, in the mouth of the river of Darien, there was a natural harbour, capable of receiving the greatest fleets, and defended from storms by other islands which covered the mouth of it, and from enemies by a promontory, which commanded the passage, and by hidden rocks in the passage itself; that on the other side of the isthmus, and in the same tract of country, there were natural harbours, equally capacious and well defended; that the two seas were connected by a ridge of hills, which, by their height, created a temperate climate in the midst of the most sultry latitudes, and were sheltered by forests, yet not rendered damp by them, because the trees grew at a distance from each other, having very little under-wood; that, contrary to the barren nature of hilly countries, the soil was of a black mould two or three feet deep, and producing spontaneously the fine tropical fruits, and plants, and roots, and herbs; that roads could be made with ease along the ridge, by which mules, and even carriages, might pass from the one sea to the other in the space of a day, and that consequently this passage seemed to be pointed out by the finger of nature, as a common centre, to connect together the trade and intercourse of the universe *.

Paterfon

* The first letter from the council to the directors contains these words;
“ The wealth, fruitfulness, health, and good situation of the country proves
“ for the better, much above our greatest expectation, which God Almighty
“ seems to have wonderfully reserved for this occasion.

“ As to the country, we find it very healthful; for although we arrived
“ here in the rainy season, from which we had little or no shelter for several
“ weeks together, and many sick among us, yet they are so far recovered,
“ and in so good a state of health, as could hardly any where be expected
“ among such a number of men together. Nor know we any thing here of
“ those several dangerous and mortal distempers so prevalent in the English
“ and other American islands.

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Paterfon knew that ships which stretch in a straight line from one point to another, and with one wind, run less risks, and require fewer hands, than ships which pass through many latitudes, turn with many coasts, and require many winds; in evidence of which, vessels of seven or eight hundred tons burden are often to be found in the south seas, navigated by no more than eight or ten hands, because these hands have little else to do than to set their sails when they begin their voyage, and to take them in when they end it; that as soon as ships from Britain got so far south as to reach the trade-wind, which never varies, that wind would carry them to Darien, and the same wind would carry ships from the bay of Panama, on the opposite side of the isthmus, to the East Indies; that as soon as ships coming from the East In-

" In fruitfulness this country seems not to give place to any in the world ;
" for we have seen several of the fruits, as cocoa-nuts, whereof chocolate
" is made, bonellos, sugar canes, maize, oranges, plantains, mangoe, yams,
" and several others ; all of them of the best of their kind any where
" found.

" Nay, there is hardly a spot of ground here but what may be cultivated ;
" For, even upon the very tops and sides of the hills and mountains, there
" is commonly three or four foot deep of rich earth, without so much as a
" stone to be found therein.

" Here is good hunting and fowling, and excellent fishing in the bays and
" creeks of the coast ; so that, could we improve the season of the year just
" now begun, we should soon be able to subsist of ourselves ; but fortifying
" and building will lose us a whole year's planting.

" We intreat you to send us a good engineer, who is extremely wanted
" here, this place being capable of being strongly fortified."—Letter from
the council, 18th December 1693.

" The hills are clothed with tall trees, without any under-wood, so that
" one may gallop conveniently among them, many miles, free from sun and
" rain, unless of a great continuance.

" Between these hills and the sea are gentle declivities, and a rich fat soil,
" full of all manner of vegetables, among which are many not known to
" us in Europe."—History of Caledonia.

A variety of papers of the company, in the advocates library, prove, that the soil was good, the climate healthy, and the passage from sea to sea not difficult.

dies to the bay of Panama got so far north as the latitude of 40, to reach the westerly winds, which, about that latitude, blow almost as regularly from the west as the trade-winds do from the east, these winds would carry them, in the track of the Spanish Aquapulca ships, to the coast of Mexico; from whence the land-wind, which blows for ever from the north to the south, would carry them along the coast of Mexico into the bay of Panama. So that, in going from Britain, ships would encounter no uncertain winds, except during their passage south into the latitude of the trade-wind; in coming from India to the bay of Panama no uncertain winds, except in their passage north to the latitude of the westerly winds; and in going from the other side of the isthmus to the east, no uncertain wind whatsoever.

Gold was seen by Paterfon in some places of the isthmus; and hence an island on the Atlantic side was called the Golden Island, and a river on the side to the South Sea was called the Golden River: But these were objects which he regarded not at that time, because far greater were in his eye; the removing of distances, the drawing nations nearer to each other, the preservation of the valuable lives of seamen, and the saving in freight, so important to merchants, and in time so important to them, and to an animal whose life is of so short duration as that of man,

By this obscure Scotsman a project was formed to settle, on this neglected spot, a great and powerful colony, not as other colonies have for the most part been settled, by chance, and unprotected by the country from whence they went, but by system, upon foresight, and to receive the ample protection of those governments to whom he was to offer his project. And certainly no greater idea has been formed since the time of Columbus.

I should

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BOOK VI.

1698.

I should do injustice to the ideas which swelled in Mr. Paterfon's mind, if I expressed them in any other words than his own. In one of his letters to the Darien company, he says, " The time and expence of navigation to China, Japan, the spice islands, and the far-
" greatest parte of the East Indies, will be lessend more
" then half, and the consumption of European commodities and manufactories will soon be more than
" doubled.—Trade will increase trade, and money will
" beget money, and the trading world shall need no
" more to want work for their hands, but will rather
" want hands for their work. Thus this door of the
" seas, and the key of the universe, with any thing of
" a reasonable management, will, of course, enable its
" proprietors to give laws to both oceans, and to become arbitrators of the commercial world, without
" being lyable to the fatigues, expences, and dangers,
" or contracting the guilt and blood of Alexander and
" Cæsar. In all our empires that have been any thing
" universal, the conquerors have been obliged to seek
" out and court their conquests from afar; but the universal force and influence of this attractive magnet, is
" such, as can much more effectually bring empire home
" to its proprietors doors,

" But from what hath been said you may easily perceive, that the nature of these discoveries are such as
" not to be engroft by any one nation or people, with
" exclusion to others; nor can it be thus attempted
" without evident hazard and ruin, as we see in the case
" of Spain and Portugall; who, by their prohibiting
" any other people to trade, or so much as goe to, or
" dwell in the Indies, have not only lost that trade they
" were not able to maintain, but have depopulated, and
" ruined their countries therewith; so that the Indies
" have rather conquered Spain and Portugall, than they
" have

“ have conquered the Indies : For, by their permitting
 “ all to go out and none to come in, they have not only
 “ lost the people which are gone to these remote and
 “ luxuriant regions, but such as remain are become
 “ wholly unprofitable, and good for nothing : Thus,
 “ not unlike the case of the dog in the fable, they have
 “ lost their own countrys, and yet not gotten the In-
 “ dies. People and their industry are the true riches of
 “ a prince or nation ; and, in respect to them, all other
 “ things are but imaginary. This was well understood
 “ by the people of Rome, who, contrary to the maxims
 “ of Sparta and Spain, by general naturalizations, li-
 “ berty of conscience, and immunity of government,
 “ far more effectually and advantageously conquered and
 “ kept the world, than ever they did, or possibly could
 “ have done, by the sword.”

PART III.
BOOK VI.

1698.

Paterfon's original intention was to offer his project to
 England, as the country which had the most interest in
 it, not only from the benefit, common to all nations, of
 shortening the length of voyages to the East Indies, but
 by the effect which it would have had to connect the in-
 terests of her European, West Indian, American, A-
 frican, and East Indian trade. For the English ships,
 which, for the most part, go with half a cargo to the
 West Indies and America, would then have carried
 another half outwards to the isthmus, to be transported
 from thence to the East. The ships in the African
 trade, after selling their slaves, might have gone to the
 isthmus, and returned loaded with the produce of the
 East. The ships of the East India company, which
 go, in a manner, without freight to the East Indies,
 would, after getting one freight to the port of the South
 Sea from the India sea, have returned with another, to
 open a trade with the islands which lie between New
 Holland and India; if they kept near the line; and to
 increase

Paterfon's
original in-
tention.

PART III. increase the trade to China and India, according as they
 BOOK VI. kept farther to the north of the line.

1698.

But Paterfon having few acquaintance, and no protection in London, thought of drawing the public eye upon him, and ingratiating himself with monied men, and with great men, by affifting them to model a project, which was at that time in embryo, for erecting the bank of England; and for some time he was a director of the bank. But that happened to him, which has happened to many in his situation; the persons to whom he applied made use of his ideas, took the honour of them to themselves, were civil to him for a while, and neglected him afterwards. He therefore communicated his project of a colony only to a few persons in London, and these few discouraged him.

He was one of the very few of his countrymen who never drunk wine, and who was by nature void of passion; and therefore, as if nothing disagreeable had happened to him, he went to the continent, and by means of one Serrurier, whom he associated into his views, a Walloon banker, who spoke all languages, and could accommodate himself to all men, he made offer of his project to the Dutch, the Hamburgers, and the Elector of Brandenburg, because by means of the passage of the Rhine and Elbe through their states, he thought, that the great additional quantities of East Indian and American goods, which his colony would bring into Europe, would be distributed through Germany. The Dutch and Hamburg merchants, who had most interest in the subject of his visit, heard him with indifference: The Elector, who had very little interest in it, received him with honour and kindness. But court arts and false reports lost him even that Prince's favour.

Alters his
intention.

Ingenious men draw to each other like iron and the loadstone: Paterfon, on his return to London, formed a friend-

a friendship with Mr. Fletcher of Salton, whose mind was inflamed with the love of public good, and all of whose ideas to procure it had a sublimity in them. Fletcher disliked England, merely because he loved Scotland to excess; and therefore the report common in Scotland is probably a true one, that he was the person who persuaded Paterfon to trust the fate of his project to his own countrymen alone, and to let them have the sole benefit, glory, and danger of it; for in its danger Fletcher deemed some of its glory to consist.

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BOOK VI.

1698.

Although Fletcher, who had nothing to hope for and nothing to fear, because he had a good estate and no children, was of the country party; yet, in all his schemes for the public good, he was accustomed to go as readily to the King's ministers as to his own friends, being indifferent who had the honour of doing good, provided it was done. His house in East Lothian was near to that of the Marquis of Tweeddale, then minister for Scotland, and therefore they were often together. Fletcher brought Paterfon down to Scotland with him, presented him to the Marquis, and then, with that power which a vehement spirit always possesses over a diffident one, persuaded the Marquis, by arguments of public good, and of the honour which would redound to his administration, to adopt the project. Lord Stair and Mr. Johnston, the two secretaries of state, patronised those abilities in Paterfon which they possessed in themselves; and the lord advocate, Sir James Stewart, the same man who had adjusted the Prince of Orange's declaration at the revolution, whose son was married to a niece of Lord Stair, went naturally along with his connections. These persons, in June 1695, procured a statute from parliament, and afterwards a charter from the crown in terms of it, for creating a trading company to Africa and the new world, with power to plant colonies

PART III.
BOOK VI.

1698.
Darien
company
erected.

and build forts, with consent of the inhabitants, in places not possessed by other European nations.

Paterfon, now finding the ground firm under him, and that he was supported by almost all the power and talents of his country, the character of Fletcher, and the sanction of an act of parliament and royal charter, threw his project boldly upon the public, and opened a subscription for a company. The frenzy of the Scots nation to sign the solemn league and covenant, never exceeded the rapidity with which they ran to subscribe to the Darien company. The nobility, the gentry, the merchants, the people, the royal burghs without the exception of one, most of the other public bodies, subscribed. Young women threw their little fortunes into the stock, widows sold their jointures to get the command of money for the same purpose. Almost in an instant 400,000*l.* were subscribed in Scotland, although it be now known, that there was not at that time above 800,000*l.* of cash in the kingdom*. The famous Mr. Law, then a youth, afterwards confessed, that the facility with which he saw the passion of speculation communicate itself from all to all, satisfied him of the possibility of producing the same effect from the same cause, but upon a larger scale, when the Duke of Orleans, in the year of the Mississippi, engaged him, against his will, to turn his bank into a bubble. Paterfon's project, which had been received by strangers with fears when opened to them in private, filled them with hopes when it came to them upon the wings of public fame: For Colonel Erskine, son to Lord Cardross, and Mr. Haldane of Glencagles, the one a generous branch of a generous stem, and the other a country gentleman of fortune and character, having been deputed to receive subscriptions in England and on the continent, the English

* Raddiman Numismata.

subscribed 300,000*l.* and the Dutch and Hamburgers 200,000*l.* more.

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BOOK VI.

1698.

In the original articles of the company it had been agreed, that Paterson should get two *per cent.* on the stock, and three *per cent.* on the profits; but when he saw the subscriptions so vast, he gave a discharge of both claims to the company; and in doing so, contrived to throw a grandeur of expression and sentiment, even into a law-release. "It was not," said he, "suspicion of
"the justice or gratitude of the company, nor a conscious-
"ness that my services could ever become useless
"to them, but the ingratitude of some individuals experienced in life, which made it a matter of common
"prudence in me to ask a retribution for six years of
"my time, and 10,000*l.* spent in promoting the establishment of the company. But now that I see it
"standing upon the authority of parliament, and supported by so many great and good men, I release all
"claim to that retribution, happy in the noble concession
"made to me, but happier in the return which I now
"make for it."

In the mean time the jealousy of trade, which has done more mischief to the trade of England than all other causes put together, created an alarm in England; and the houses of lords and commons, without previous inquiry or reflection, on the 13th December of the year 1695, concurred in a joint address to the King, against the establishment of the Darien company, as detrimental to the interest of the East India company. Soon after the commons impeached some of their own countrymen, for being instrumental in erecting the company; and also some of the Scots nation, one of whom was a peer, Lord Belhaven; that is to say, they arraigned the subjects of another country, for making use of the laws of their own. Among six hundred legislators, not one had

England opposes it.

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BOOK VI.

1698.

from the natives, and sending messages of amity to the Spanish governors, within their reach: And then fixed their station at Acta, calling it New St. Andrew, from the name of the tutelar saint of Scotland, and the country itself New Caledonia. One of the sides of the harbour being formed by a long narrow neck of land which ran into the sea, they cut it across, so as to join the ocean and the harbour. Within this defence they erected their fort, planting upon it fifty pieces of cannon. On the other side of the harbour there was a mountain a mile high, on which they placed a watch-house, which, in the rarified air within the tropics, so favourable for vision, gave them an immense range of prospect, to prevent all surprise. To this place, it was observed, that the highlanders often repaired, to enjoy a cool air, and to talk of their friends whom they had left behind in their hills, friends whose minds were as high as their mountains. The first public act of the colony was to publish a declaration of freedom of trade and religion to all nations. This luminous idea originated with Paterson*.

Dutch and
Spaniards
oppose the
company.

But the Dutch East India company having pressed the King, in concurrence with his English subjects, to prevent the settlement of Darien, orders had been sent from England to the governors of the West Indian and American colonies, to issue proclamations against giving assistance, or even to hold correspondence with the colony; and these were more or less harshly expressed, according to the tempers of the different governors. The Scots, trusting to far different treatment, and to the supplies

* The words are, "And we do hereby not only grant and concede, and declare a general and equal freedom of government and trade to those of all nations who shall hereafter be of, or concerned with us; but also a full and free liberty of conscience in matter of religion." This was the idea of Paterson from the beginning. Vide his letter to the provost of Edinburgh, 9th July 1695.

which

which they expected from those colonies, had not brought provisions enough with them; they fell into diseases, from bad food, and from want of food. But the more generous savages, by hunting and fishing for them, gave them that relief which fellow Britons refused*. They lingered eight months, awaiting, but in vain, for assistance from Scotland, and almost all of them either died out, or quitted the settlement. Paterfon, who had been the first that entered the ship at Leith, was the last who went on board at Darien.

PART III.
BOOK VI.

1693.

During the space of two years, while the establishment of this colony had been in agitation, Spain had made no complaint to England or Scotland against it. The Darien council even averred in their papers (which are in the advocates library), that the right of the company was debated before the King, in presence of the Spanish ambassador, before the colony left Scotland. But now, on the 3d of May 1699, the Spanish ambassador at London presented a memorial to the King, which complained of the settlement at Darien as an encroachment on the rights of his master. It was believed that this memorial proceeded more from the suggestion of the English and Dutch ministers, than from his own court, because it was observed that the orders to the English governors were dated before the memorial of the Spanish ambassador. But it was unfortunate for England herself, that no one of her ministers proposed to treat with the King of Spain, who was at that time in particular friendship with William, and dependant upon England, for a country which Spain did not possess, had no use for, and annoyed her with a continual and galling war; or at least for a passage through that country, on the payment of whatever customs the King of Spain should in a treaty demand.

1699.

* Hodge, page 135. and Darien papers.

PART III.
BOOK VI.

1699.
Fate of first
second colony.

The Scots, ignorant of the misfortunes of their colony, but provoked at this memorial, sent out another colony soon after of 1300 men, to support an establishment which was now no more. But this last expedition having been more hastily prepared than the first, was unlucky in its passage. One of the ships was lost at sea, many men died on shipboard, and the rest arrived at different times, broken in their health, and dispirited, when they heard the fate of those who had gone before them.—Added to the misfortunes of the first colony, the second had a misfortune peculiar to itself: The general assembly of the church of Scotland sent out four ministers, with orders, “To take charge of the souls of the colony, and to erect a presbytery, with a moderator, clerk, and record of proceedings, to appoint ruling elders, deacons, overseers of the manners of the people, and assistants in the exercise of church discipline and government, and to hold regular kirk sessions.” When they arrived, the officers and gentlemen were occupied in building houses for themselves with their own hands, because there was no help to be got from others; yet the four ministers complained grievously that the council did not order houses to be immediately built for their accommodation. They had not had the precaution to bring with them letters of recommendation from the directors at home to the council abroad. On these accounts, not meeting with all the attention they expected from the higher, they paid court to the inferior ranks of the colonists, and by that means threw divisions into the colony. They exhausted the spirits of the people, by requiring their attendance at sermon four or five hours at a stretch, relieving each other by preaching alternately, but allowing no relief to their hearers. The employment of one of the days set aside for religious exercise, which was a Wednesday, they

they divided into three parts, thanksgiving, humiliation, and supplication, in which three ministers followed each other. And as the service of the church of Scotland consists of a lecture with a comment, a sermon, two prayers, three psalms, and a blessing, the work of that day, upon an average of the length of the service of that age, could not take up less than twelve hours; during which space of time the colony was collected, and kept close together in the guard-room, which was used as a church, in a tropical climate, and in a sickly season. They presented a paper to the council, and made it public, requiring them to set aside a day for a solemn fasting and humiliation, and containing their reasons for the requisition, in which, under pretence of enumerating the sins of the people, they poured abuse on their rulers*. They damped the courage of the people, by continually presenting hell to them as the termination of life to most men, because most men are sinners. Carrying the presbyterian doctrine of predestination to extremes, they stopped all exertions, by shewing that the consequence of them depended not on those by whom they were made. They converted the numberless accidents to which soldiers and seamen are exposed, into immediate judgments of God against their sins. And, having resolved to quit the settlement, they, in excuse for their doing so, wrote bitter letters to the

* One passage of the paper is, "First, it is too evident, many, both at home and abroad, engaged in the prosecution of this great enterprise, have been more influenced by their own selfish and worldly interests, than by a zealous concern either for the glory of God, or for the public honour and advantage of our nation. Secondly, That in the choice of instruments for promoting this noble design, there hath not been that tenderness and caution exercised, which the case required, to admit or entertain none but such as were of known integrity, and fit to advance the religious as well as the civil design of this settlement; on the contrary, too many have been admitted into this service that are men of dissipated lives, and some of pernicious principles."

PART III.
BOOK VI.

1699.

general assembly against the characters of the colonists, and the advantages of the colony itself. The catalogue of crimes they summed up in the following words: "There have abounded, and do still remain among us, such abominations (notwithstanding all the means used to restrain and suppress them), as the rudest heathens from the light of nature do abhor; such as atheistical swearing and cursing, brutish drunkenness, detestable lying and prevaricating, obscene and filthy talking, mocking of godliness, yea, and among too many of the meaner sort, both thieving and pilfering, besides sabbath-breaking, contempt of all gospel ordinances, &c. which are stumbling to the very Indians, opprobrious to the christian name, and reproachful to the church and nation to which we belong. Among those that are free of those gross scandalous abominations, the far greater part among us have little of the spiritual heart exercising sense of religion, and the power of godliness: Many are grossly ignorant of the principles of religion; and, among the more knowing, hypocrisy, formality, impenitency, unbelief, indifferency, security, omission of prayer, neglecting the great salvation, slighting of Christ offered in the gospel, and other spiritual sins, do lamentably prevail." One of them, in a kind of history of the colony which he published, with a savage triumph, exulted over the misfortunes of his countrymen in the following words: "They were such a rude company, that I believe Sodom never declared such impudence in sinning as they. Any observant eye might see, that they were running the way they went; hell and judgment was to be seen upon them, and in them, before the time: Their cup was full; it could hold no more: They were ripe; they must be cut down with the sickle of the wrath of God."

I have

I have collected these circumstances, to shew that though religion be the noblest and firmest principle of great actions, yet, in the hands of weak men, it will defeat the greatest.

PART III.
BOOK VI.
1699.

While the second colony of the Scots were exposing themselves, far from their country, in the cause, mediately or immediately, of all who spoke the English language, the house of lords of England were a second time addressing the King at home against the settlement itself. William alone saw what none of his peers, or members of parliament, or ministers did, that an union with Scotland was the true way to give the immediate benefit of the participation of the settlement to England, and to prevent a quarrel between the two nations; and therefore he answered the address of the lords, on the 12th of February 1699, in the following words: "His Majesty does apprehend that difficulties may too often arise, with respect to the different interests of trade between his two kingdoms, unless some way be found out to unite them more nearly and completely; and therefore his Majesty takes this opportunity of putting the house of peers in mind of what he recommended to his parliament soon after his accession to the throne, that they would consider of an union between the two kingdoms. His Majesty is of opinion, that nothing would more contribute to the security and happiness of both kingdoms; and is inclined to hope, that, after they have lived near an hundred years under the same head, some expedient may be found for making them one people, in case a treaty were set on foot for that purpose; and therefore he does very earnestly recommend this matter to the consideration of the house." But the spirit of party, of jealousy, and of insolence, which, by the activity it inspires, sometimes exhibits the English as the

The King
advises an
union.

PART III.
BOOK V.

1699.

only nation on earth that deserves liberty, and at other times as the only nation that is unworthy of it, rendered vain the counsel of their sovereign; for though the peers, in compliment to his answer, could not avoid sending a bill to the commons, to authorise commissioners to treat for an union with Scotland, the commons rejected it.

The last party that joined the second colony at Darien, after it had been three months settled, was Captain Campbell, father to the present Colonel Campbell of Finab, with a company of the people of his own estate, whom he had commanded in Flanders, and whom he carried to Darien in his own ship. On their arrival at New St. Andrew, they found intelligence had been lately received, that a Spanish force of 1600 men, which had been brought from the coast of the South Sea, lay incamped at Tubucantce, waiting there till a Spanish squadron of eleven ships which was expected should arrive, when they were jointly to attack the fort. The military command was offered to Captain Campbell, in compliment to his reputation, and to his birth, who was descended from the families of Bredalbane and Athole. In order to prevent a joint attack, he resolved to attack first; and therefore on the second day after his arrival, he marched with 200 men to Tubucantce, before his arrival was known to the enemy, stormed the camp in the night time, dissipated the Spanish force with much slaughter, and returned to the fort the fifth day: But he found the Spanish ships before the harbour, their troops landed, and almost all hopes of help or provision cut off; yet he stood a siege near six weeks, till almost all the officers were dead, the enemy by their approaches had cut off his wells, and his balls were so far expended, that he was obliged to melt the pewter dishes of the garrison into balls. The garrison then capitulated,

1699.

pitulated, and obtained not only the common honours of war, and security for the property of the company, but, as if they had been conquerors, exacted hostages for performance of the conditions. Captain Campbell alone desired to be excepted from the capitulation, saying, he was sure the Spaniards could not forgive him the mischief which he so lately had done them. The brave by their courage often escape that death which they seem to provoke: Captain Campbell made his escape in his vessel, and, stopping nowhere, arrived safely at New York, and from thence to Scotland, where the company presented him with a gold medal, in which his virtue was commemorated, to inflame his family with the love of heroic actions*. And the Lord Lyon king at arms, whose office it is in Scotland (and such offices should be every where) to confer badges of distinction according to the rules of heraldry upon honourable actions, gave him a highlander and an Indian for supporters to his coat of arms. While the Spanish general and the Scots council were settling the terms of capitulation, the presbyterian ministers interfered: The Spanish governor, thinking the interference officious, said to them in Latin, because they did not understand Spanish, "*Negotia tua cura*"—"Take care of your own business." One of them, with a mixture of petulance and spirit, answered, "*Curabo*;"—"I will take care of it."

A harder fate attended those whom Captain Campbell left at Darien. They were so weak in their health as not to be able to weigh up the anchors of the Rising Sun, one of their ships, which carried sixty guns: But the generous Spaniards assisted them. In going out of the harbour, she ran aground: The prey was tempting; and to obtain it, the Spaniards had only to stand by and

* There is an engraving of the medal in Nisbet's Heraldry.

PART III.
BOOK V.

1699.

look on: But they shewed that mercy to the Scots in distress, which one of the countrymen of those Scots, General Elliot, returned to the posterity of the Spaniards, at the end of the late conflagration at the siege of Gibraltar. The Darien ships being leaky, and weakly manned, were obliged, in their voyage, to take shelter in different ports belonging to Spain and England. The Spaniards, in the new world, shewed them kindness; the English governments shewed them none; and in one place one of their ships was seized and detained*. Of these only Captain Campbell's ship, and another small one, were saved: The Royal Sun was lost on the bar of Charlestown; and of the colony not more than thirty saved from war, shipwreck, or disease, ever saw their own country again. Three of the ministers survived. One of them in his history, converting the God of the universe into an instrument of gratifying the little passions of individuals, concludes the narrative of the escape of men, whom he calls God's jewels, in these words: "Then, last of all, Mr. Stobo
" was remarkably and wonderfully taken from them, as
" a brand out of the fire, but a little before their final
" overthrow: Thus, when once Lot was got out of
" Sodom into Zoar, then, without any longer delay,

* Among the Darien papers there is an order from Secretary Vernon, 28th September 1700, to Sir William Beckon, governor of Jamaica, to deliver up this ship to the company. There are among the papers many complaints of cruel usage by the English governors; but the most authentic is in a letter from the directors to the council, signed by the Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Ruthven, and nine other of the chief directors, of date 10th Feb. 1700, in the following words: "We think it needless to tell you all the tragical accidents that happened to the first colony after their departure for Caledonia: But in short the Endeavour ship sunk at sea, the men being saved by the Caledonia, which arrived at New York in the beginning of August last; as did also the Unicorn in great distress; after losing the best part of their men. They were barbarously treated by the government there." But much of the correspondence which I have seen, proves that they were every where received with pity and kindness by individuals.

" the

“ the Lord rained destruction from heaven upon those cities of iniquity.” Genesis, xix. 23, 24.

PART III.
BOOK VI.

1699.

But the church of Scotland was more just to the characters of the colonists; for that part of the address of the commission of the general assembly of the church, which was directed to the sea and land officers, contained the following spirited words: “ We shall, in the next place, particularly address ourselves to you, that are in military charge, and have command over the soldiery, whether by land or sea. It is on you, honoured and worthy gentlemen, that a great share of the burden of the public safety lies: You are, in some respect, both the eyes and hands of this infant colony: Many of you have been lately engaged in a just and glorious war, for retrieving and defending the protestant religion, the liberties and rights of your country, under the conduct of a matchless Prince. And now, when through the blessing of the Lord of hosts, his and your arms have procured an honourable peace at home; you, and others with you, have, with much bravery, embarked yourselves in a great, generous, and just undertaking, in the remote parts of the earth, for advancing the honour and interest of your native country: If in this you acquit yourselves like men and Christians, your fame will be renowned both abroad and at home.”

Paterfon, who had stood the blow, could not stand the reflection of misfortune. He was seized with a lunacy in his passage home *, after the ruin of the first colony;

* He must have a heart of stone, who does not feel for Paterfon in his allusion to this cruel personal fatality, in the following words of his letter, of 19th December 1699, to the company: “ I was taken ill of a fever; but trouble of mind, as I found afterwards, was none of the least thereof.” In the same letter he thus describes his situation before he left the colony: “ When the rest were preparing to go away, I was left alone on shore, in a
“ weak

PART III.
BOOK VI.

1699.

colony; but he recovered in his own country, where his spirit, still ardent and unbroke, presented a new plan to the company, founded on the idea of King William, that England should have the joint dominion of the settlement with Scotland. The plan, in which there is much information and genius, together with an answer from Mr. Paterfon to some questions of the company, concerning the nature of the country, will be found in the Appendix at the end of this book.

The first article of the proposals in his plan is in these words: "That this designe be carried on by a joynt
" stock of two millions of pounds sterling, one fifth part
" thereof to belong to Scotland, and the other four fifths
" to England."

And among the reasons upon which the proposal is founded, there are the following words: "Since these
" things can neither safely be divided nor ingroft, and,
" on the other hand, are such as that in them there
" wants not room for many nations, I trust the divine
" hand, who hath directed this company to be the main
" discoverers thereof, shall likewise indue them with
" suitable largeness of heart, understanding, zeal, industry, and success, in laying the same so effectually
" before the King our sovereign lord, that from his

" weak condition. None visited me except Captain Drummond, who with
" me still lamented our thoughts of leaving the place, and prayed God, that
" we might but hear from our country before we left the coast." A letter from New York to the company, from a gentleman who was not concerned in their affairs, makes the following mention of Paterfon: "In all these discourses, they (that is, the colonists) gave Mr. Paterfon his due praise: for
" truly, by what I could learn, he had been both diligent and true to the
" end. He looks more like a skeleton than a man." This letter relates the reports of those who had left the colony, with regard to the nature of the country, in the following words: "This mortality and sickness did
" not come from the unwholesomeness of the place or climate; for they all
" agree that the place is very wholesome, the heat moderate, the water
" extraordinary good, and the soil surpassing belief."

“ gracious and powerful protection, and the just and
“ equal communication thereof to all his subjects, the
“ foundation of this designe may be made as large as his
“ Majesty’s empire, and thereby be not only rendered
“ more secure, happy, and durable ; but, instead of a
“ bone of contention, become a bond of union to those
“ his Majesty’s sister kingdoms.”

“ The respect which, upon such an emergency, is
“ due to the royal Majesty, and the affection we owe to
“ our sister nation, will sufficiently incline this company
“ to be zealous and diligent in laying the weight of these
“ things before the King our lord ; and in using all
“ becoming endeavours for bringing the rest of our fel-
“ low-subjects to be joyntly concerned in this great, ex-
“ tensive, and advantageous undertaking.”

“ That a proposal of this kind from the company,
“ will be other than acceptable, ought not to be sup-
“ posed ; since, by this means, the consumption and de-
“ mand of English growths and manufactures, and con-
“ sequently the employment of their people, will soon
“ be more than doubled ; England will be hereby enabled
“ to become the long desired free port ; and yet its public
“ revenues, instead of being diminished, will thereby be
“ greatly increased. By this, that nation will all at once
“ be eased of its laws of restraint and prohibitions,
“ which, instead of being encouragements, always have,
“ and still continue to be the greatest letts, (i. e. hin-
“ drances) to its trade and happiness *.”

“ It will not be fit for me to suppose, that either Scot-
“ land will make unreasonable demands for their right of
“ discovery, possession, or consent of the natives ; or
“ that they will at this tyme unkindly resent the late

* His plan, printed at the end of this book, will explain how he thought these effects were to be produced by the possession of Darien in the hands of Britain.

PART III. "wrongs and injuries done them upon that account; or
 BOOK VI. "even, although the two nations should come to be con-
 1699. "vinced of their joynt interest to be concerned, that
 "yet they should disagree about the quantum; since
 "here is a greater field of trade for both, than can
 "possibly be improved in several ages to come."

Paterson survived many years in Scotland, pitied, respected, but neglected. After the union of the two kingdoms, he claimed reparation of his losses from the equivalent money given by England to the Darien Company, but got nothing; because a grant to him from a public fund, would have been only an act of humanity, not a political job.

Reflections. Thus ended the colony of Darien.—Men look into the works of poets for subjects of satire; but they are more often to be found in the records of history. The application of the Dutch to King William against the Darien Company, affords the surest of all proofs, that it was the interest of the British islands to support it. England, by the imprudence of ruining that settlement, lost the opportunity of gaining and continuing to herself the greatest commercial empire that probably ever will be upon earth. Had she treated with Scotland, in the hour of the distress of the company, for a joint possession of the settlement; or adopted the union of kingdoms, which the sovereign of both proposed to them, that possession could certainly have been obtained. Had she treated with Spain to relinquish an imaginary right, or at least to give a passage across the isthmus, upon receiving duties so high as to overbalance all the chance of loss by a contraband trade, she had probably obtained either the one or the other. Had she broke with Spain, for the sake of gaining by force one of those favours, she would have lost far less than she afterwards did, by carrying a war into that country for many years, to force a King upon the

the Spaniards against their will. Even a rupture with Spain, for Darien, if it had proved successful, would have knit the two nations together by the most solid of ties, their mutual interest: For the English must then have depended upon Spain for the safety of the caravans by land, and the Spaniards upon England for the safety of their fleets by sea. Spain and England would have been bound together as Portugal and England have long been; and the Spanish treasures have sailed, under the wings of English navies, from the Spanish main to Cadiz, in the same manner as the treasures of Portugal have sailed under the same protection, sacred, and untouched, from the Brazilles to Lisbon.

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There are times when schemes the most visionary may succeed; and there are situations when the general interests of mankind should supersede the acquired rights of particular nations, even though much better founded than the rights of Spain to the passage and deserts of Darien. A commercial treaty between France and England, which, for near a century, had appeared impossible, has been lately brought about in a few months. And the Empress of Russia, by sounding the alarm to all nations, in favour of a system which provides, that free bottoms shall make free cargoes in times of war*, accomplished

* There is a popular cry at present in England, on which account the chance is three to one that it is unjust, against the Empress of Russia, for introducing the system, that free bottoms make free cargoes in times of war. Strange! That Princess deserves a statue in the Royal Exchange, among the monarchs of England, for what she has done. The nation which has most trade, must always suffer most from the pillage of trade; and therefore the English beyond all others. The trade of England in the first years of the reign of King William was almost annihilated by capture; and in the late war it suffered most grievously, because exposed to that pillage, from which the regulations of the Empress, in the cause of humanity, of the merchants who are the general and inoffensive friends of human kind, and of the free communication of the enjoyments of life to all amidst the horrors of war, will for the future protect it. I have heard it said to the disparagement of

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complied a revolution in the *jus gentium* of Europe almost in an instant. It is not impossible that the personal and just pride of the present King of Spain, which induced him not to grudge the wealth of a kingdom to recover

Lord Sandwich, but in my estimation much to his credit, that he advised the foreign trade of England in the last war to be carried on in neutral bottoms, in order to save it from the four enemies who lay in wait for it, and almost all the seamen and shipping of the nation to be employed against those enemies.

Louis XIV. in the first years of the war of the first Grand Alliance, proceeded upon a similar plan; for he threw all his seamen into ships of war and privateers, and thereby nearly annihilated the trade of England. One who surely was a good judge, Mr. Burchet, secretary to the admiralty, says in his book, that no human contrivance could have protected the trade of England against that mode of attack at that time. It is true, that Louis by the exertion ruined the trade of his own kingdom. But this arose from the peculiarity of a circumstance to which it is not probable England will ever be exposed: For the King of France being at war with almost all the maritime coasts of Europe, it became impossible for his subjects to procure neutral ships to carry on their business; and thus he suspended, not only the shipping interest of his people, in which there was no great harm, but their trading interest also. And that suspension being continued for too long a period, during the wars of the first and second Grand Alliance, those interests could never be recovered, until a considerable time after the peace of Utrecht.

If the regulations of the Empress shall prevail, England in a war with France, Spain, or Holland, if it be a sea war, ought to have two objects in view; one to protect her own settlements, which, from their numbers, are but too vulnerable; and I remember well hearing Mr. Grenville foretel in a private company, at the end of the war before last, that the next war would be an unsuccessful one, because England had too much to defend. The other object ought to be, to seize the sugar islands of France, the Indies of Spain, and the Dutch islands in the east, with the Cape of Good Hope, which leads to them; because these are the fountain springs, from whence the waters of wealth flow into the public treasures of the governments of those three countries; and they are all vulnerable there; of which the following circumstances are proofs: As no master of a china shop chuses to see people play at quarter-staff in his shop, the French planters, in order to save their plantations from destruction, or, which is the same to them, from waste, were in the war before last, and will in every war, be the first to force their defenders to capitulate: Lord Anson in two ships spread alarms all along the range of the south sea: And it is known to all who have of late years been in Indian and African seas, that the soldiers who mount guard

recover Gibraltar, might induce him to give Darien to England for that fortress; and to throw into the bargain Ceuta and Tangier, by giving up the one, and purchasing from the Moors the other, though at an hundred times more price than they would think of asking for it; either of which places, particularly the last, and still more both of them, would give every advantage to England which she

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guard on the governor's palace of Batavia are Mallays, because he has no Europeans to put in their places; and that the Cape of Good Hope is a prey to the first enemy that falls upon it,

In order to obtain such objects, England may very well submit to a temporary suspension of her navigation interest. The merchant cannot lose by that suspension, because if there was a loss in the difference of freight between foreign and home shipping, he would lay that loss on his customers. The manufacturer cannot lose, because it is indifferent to him in what ship his manufactures are exported. The ship owner cannot lose, because his vessels will be employed in the service of government, or of privateers, or in the carrying trade of other nations. The nation cannot lose, because it will save the expence of insurance, and (which, perhaps, is not of less consequence to a wise and generous people) the reflection, that unhappy is that nation in which (as in the game of all insurances) the rejoicings of some are drowned amidst the cries of others of their own countrymen. But above all, the nation, and every individual of the nation, must gain in two respects: The first is, that to employ almost all the seamen (except those that are engaged in the coasting trade, who are not exposed to capture) in ships of war or privateers, is to breed up, and form a naval militia, for defence at sea, in the same way as there is, or ought to be, a solid militia for defence by land. And the second is, that such an exertion will lead to the most economical of all economies, a speedy termination of war: For, the continuation of war for only one half year after such exertion might have terminated it, will cost more to the public than the difference of freight between foreign and home shipping could amount to in half a century.

It may be said, that the French (for the experience of a century has proved that England has no other nation to dread) will play the same game, and win it with our own arts. That they will try it, whether we do so or not, is certain; because they have sense, they look before them, and their accession to the system of the *jus gentium* of the Empress of Russia shews that they see their way. But succeed they cannot, until their seamen shall become more numerous, more expert and bold in working a ship, and more brave in action than the English, which they certainly have never hitherto been; and until they shall possess the same advantages in victualling with

the

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she derives from Gibraltar * : Or should Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, the Emperor, Holland, England, France, Portugal, and Italy, join to obtain from Spain, by treaty or by force, a passage across the isthmus of Darien (in the same way as the King of Denmark grants a passage to all nations through the Sound), on paying more for it than Spain can possibly lose by it, they would do more good to their subjects, than they have done by the three hundred great battles, in which they have been laying Europe waste for two centuries and a half back.

But if neither Britain singly, nor the maritime parts of Europe jointly, will treat with Spain for a passage across Darien, it requires no great gift of prophecy to foresee, that the period is not very distant, when, in order to procure the precious metals at once, instead of waiting for them in the slow returns of trade, the States of America, who were able to defy the fleets of England, and the armies of England and Germany, will seize the pass of Darien, and with ease, by violence from the feeble dominion of Spain. Their next move,

the English, which they never can possess, as long as Ireland shall continue in the dominion of the crown of England; that is, as long as she shall be treated with justice and kindness by England. But should alterations happen in those respects, it will signify very little in what way England shall employ her seamen, because her trade, her navy, her settlements, and her empire, will then fall victims to France: The business of the day being over, England will set in darkness, like the sun.

* It is strange that English ministers never think of making advantage of the personal partiality of the present King of Spain for the acquisition of Gibraltar, which may not communicate itself to his successors. The writer of these pages, who was in Spain during the late war, has reason, and good reason, to believe, that the present King of Spain, in exchange for Gibraltar, would give Ceuta, and the Island of Grand Canary, by which last, England would get what she never has had, a wine and fruit province; and also a great number of seamen already in the island; a power of interrupting one of the two passages of the Spanish treasures from the south seas to Spain, in time of war; and above all, an immense fishery to the south of Cape Blanco, which has this advantage over the other fisheries possessed by Britain, that it can be made use of in the winter months.

AND IRELAND.

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or perhaps rather part of the same move, will be, to take possession of the Sandwich Islands in the South Seas, discovered by the immortal Captain Cook, in the latitude of 22° north, where they will find (what was not found in the former islands discovered by him) provisions and salt enough; and besides these, swarms of mariners to sail in their ships; for, the officers who went first to the New Islands in the South Sea, in the present reign, agree, that the islanders in a few days ran along the yards, and up the shrouds of the ships, faster than our own people; for which there are two good reasons; the first is, that men who wear no shoes tread surer on ship-board, on yards, and on cordage, and cling faster than men who wear shoes; and the second, that as the inhabitants live much upon fish, they are all of them, even the women, almost by nature mariners.

Stationed thus, in the middle, and on the east, and on the west sides of the new western world, the English Americans will form not only the most potent, but the most singular empire that has ever appeared; because it will consist, not in the dominion of a part of the land of the globe, but in the dominion of the whole ocean.—For on the one side of the new western continent, from the Sandwich Islands, they may, by turning a little to the south, run on the trade-wind to the East Indies; or by turning less than 20 degrees to the north, they may run upon the great west wind, which blows there ten months out of twelve in the year, to the coast of Mexico; by which the gold metals of the east, and the silver of the west, will be within their reach; and from that side of Darien they will sail to China, from China to India, from India to Chili, and from Chili, by the south land-wind, which never varies, to Darien; that is to say, they will make the tour of the Indian and southern seas, collecting wealth by trade wherever they pass, in
little

PART III. little more time than a ship takes to sail twice from
BOOK VI. London to Venice, and from Venice back again.—On
 1699. another side of the new western continent, possessing all
 stores for building ships at home, they will enjoy the
 three greatest fisheries in the world; in summer, the
 fisheries on their own coasts, and (perhaps the more im-
 portant of the two) in their own rivers; in winter, the
 fisheries on both sides of Cape Horn, because the winters
 of the temperate are the summers of the frigid zone;
 and all the year round, those on the coast of Africa south
 of Cape Blanco.—On both sides of their continent, they
 will, during the wars of European nations with each
 other, enjoy, under the sanction of neutral bottoms, the
 carrying trade of those nations from Europe to the one,
 and from India to the other side of the new world; and
 even during peace they may engross the whole Indian
 trade of Europe, if they chuse to exclude other nations
 from the benefit of the passage; in which event, the
 East India Companies of Europe will cease to be known,
 except by the territories which they possess in India.—
 To all nations their empire will be dreadful; because
 their ships will sail wherever billows roll, or winds can
 waft them; and because their people, capable of subsist-
 ing either almost wholly on the produce of the waters,
 by means of their fisheries, or on the plunder and con-
 tributions of mankind, if they chuse to do so, will re-
 quire few of their number to be employed in manufac-
 tures or husbandry at home; and, therefore, like the
 ancient Spartans, who defied all the power of Persia, or
 the roving Normans, who pillaged the sea coasts of
 Europe from Jutland to Dalmatia, the occupation of
 every citizen will lie, not in the common employments
 of peace, but in the powers of offence or defence alone.
 —Whether they may have arts and letters, will be a mat-
 ter of chance. The Phenician and Carthaginian rovers
 had,

had, the present successors of those Carthaginians have them not now, and the northern rovers never had them : But if they shall be blest with arts and letters, they will spread civilization over the universe. If, on the other hand, they shall not be blest with them, then they will once more plunge it into the same darkness, which nations have thrown upon each other, probably much oftener than history can tell : And when that happens, England, with all her glories and all her liberty, will be known only as a speck in the map of the world, as ancient Egypt, Sicily, Pontus, and Carthage, are now.

These prospects should call the attention of the maritime nations of Europe to the importance of laying open the passage of Darien to all nations, instead of leaving it exposed to be seized, and to become the property of that people who lie nearest to it. But they call for the attention of Spain and of England beyond all others, because these powers have most to lose in the revolutions of America and Asia. It is however some comfort for those who feel for the cause of human nature, that if the States of America should, from the supineness of rulers and ministers, seize, and make the passage of Darien their exclusive property, the trading nations of the world would combine to wrest it from them. And as the men of this age have seen almost all Europe join, either actively or passively, to rear America into eminence, they may live to see all Europe join to pull her down again : And of all those powers, none (if future history can be judged of by past history) will be so ready to lend a helping hand to the work, as that very one to which she thinks she has lately owed the most.

A P P E N D I X

T O

P A R T III. B O O K VI.

MR. PATERSON'S LAST PLAN FOR THE DARIEN COMPANY.

*To the Right Honourable the Court of Directors of the
Indian and African Company of Scotland.*

Right Honourable,

THE care and duty incumbent upon me to seek the prosperity and good success of this Company, above all others my concerns on earth, presses me at this tyme, to represent the following matters of fact, together with my humble opinion and thoughts thereupon, to the consideration of this honourable Court.

I shall not now enter upon any particular description of what hath hitherto been discovered of that part of the isthmus of America, which as yet remains uninhabited, or is in the free possession of the native Indians; but shall wholly confine myself to some few things of the greatest moment, and which, for the most part, owe discovery to you.

The seasons of the year in and about your settlement of Caledonia are principally two; the one whereof we call the Dry Season, because in it there is not any rain, but a continued course of brisk north westerly and northerly winds. This season begins in December, and ends in
Apryle

Apryle or May. During the rest of the year the rains are of two sorts, which may be properly enough called the greater and the lesser; the greater rains being the same which are usual in the West India islands, and other summer countries, are strong and violent. They begin commonly some time after twelve o'clock at night, and continue till noon next day, at which tyme it clears up; but very few such mornings happen during the whole season, and there is hardly ever two or more of them together. The lesser rains are only moderate and growing showers, whereof there is sometimes one, two, or more in the twenty-four hours. They continue seldom above a quarter or half an hour together, and fall for the most part in the night; yet we frequently have several days, nay sometimes weeks together, wherein there is not any sort of rains. During this season the winds continue likewise for the most part westerly; but there is frequent tornadoes and gusts of wind, and sometimes again the breeze fails, and is uncertain. With the rains there is also much thunder and lightning; but I never heard of any harm it did. What is here said only concerns that part of the coast which lyes between the Gulf of Uraba to the eastward, and the Sambalas to the westward, for the space of about forty-five leagues. But further to the westward at Portobello, and in some parts of the gulf to the eastward, or other inland places, where the mountains are so high as to intercept the clouds, the rains are incomparably more constant and violent.

The sicklyest season for new comers to this country is from April or May to September; and the diseases are commonly feavers and agues, and intermitting feavers. If people are not well lookt after, to the feavers and agues succeed dropseys, scurveyes and fluxes, that are sometimes mortal. But, in the intermitting feavers, and feavers and agues of themselves, I have seen and

heard of but little danger: Of the strong feavers, by some called callentures, I have seen or heard but very rarely; yet, Lieutenant Dryden, and as I remember one or two more, were carried off by such. And, generally speaking, the long lives and great prolifickness of the inhabitants, and others seasoned to the Indies, together with the fewness of, and the little danger in the diseases they are subject to, the wonderful ease in curing of wounds and sores when they happen, are no small indications of the great temperance and healthfulness of this climate.

The great number of easie hills and ryfing grounds, with their interveening valeyes, multitude of springs, brooks, and rivers of waters, render the prospect of this coast exceeding delightful, and the whole country pleasant and commodious. The higher hills are within the lands towards the center of the country; but there seems none to be very high in this part of the Isthmus. The soyle in general is of a deep brownish mold; but I have also frequently seen strong clays, and other sorts of earth, here and there interveening. We have the depth of two, three, or four feet of this earth upon the sides, and even to the tops of these hills, whereupon there is not a stone to be seen, unless they be discovered by the water falls.

This coast is sensibly much cooler, and the heat more temperate and easy than I have observed in any of the American islands, or other the summer countries, of which its westerly winds, and the vicinity of the two great oceans, are doubtless none of the least occasions. Your harbour of Caledonia lyes in about eight degrees and forty minutes north latitude.

In fruitfullness, as well as temperance and healthfulness, this country is inferior to none; and, besides dyewoods, and other precious woods and growths, it is well stored with great variety of the best timber for shipping and other uses in the known world.

Roads,

Roads, harbours, and creeks, for the security of shipping, this coast hath many: But the most considerable for situation, security, and defence, is your port of Caledonia. In the bayes, creeks, and harbours of this coast, there is but here and there little slips and small quantities of drowned land; but in the Gulf of Uraba there are vast tracts thereof. This Gulf of Uraba is not yet well discovered; but what we know thereof is, that at its entrance, and where broadest, it hath seven or eight leagues in breadth, and hath four or five leagues in the narrowest places. It runs 25 or 30 leagues into the country, is clear, without any barr or impediment, and hath 25 or 30 fathom water in its channels. It hath many great rivers run into it, of which three or four are said to be larger than the Thames. The great river at the bottom of the gulf enters it with several mouths; but these several mouths are all barred by rotten trees and other rubbish brought down with the floods, and there stopt by the strong coast winds, tides, and currents. There is commonly but eight or nine foot water upon the barrs; but there is six, seven, eight, and nine fathom water when within, and so for many leagues up. Most of the other rivers of the gulf are thus barred: But those barrs might be easily removed by industry; because their breadths for the most part exceed not a ship's length, and deep water without and within. On the west side of the gulph, about 15 leagues up, there is a river about two leagues broad at the entrance, which hath no barr, but six or seven fathom water for several leagues up. On both sides of this river there are large tracts of drowned land, where, if we may believe the discoverers, grows great quantities of the dywood, commonly called Nicaragua wood.

But the gold mines of this country, and its two passages from the north to the south sea, are above all
other

other things the most valuable. Gold may be gotten in greater or lesser quantities in very many places of the Isthmus: But since the late discoveries no mines are lookt after that will not yield at least half an ounce of gold *per diem* to the labourer: But they often yield a much greater quantity, even to half a mark or four ounces *per day*; and many thousand negroes or others might find constant employment at this rate.

In former times, the Spaniards had no mines in this country, but only a place not far from St. Maria, where gold in grain was found to the value of about a Castilian, or the sixth part of an ounce *per day*; and sometimes they had possession of this, and at other times not, according as there was peace and war with the Indians: But, about 16 years ago, from the discoveries of the natives to some privateers, the three mines, called Sabalas, Archietee, and Talieque were found; and after the peace that then ensued, the Spaniards were permitted to work them. The mines of Talieque and Archietee lye each about a day's journey from Sta. Maria, and between these two there is only the distance of three leagues. From Archietee the Sabalas is five leagues, and from thence to the great mine of Cana there is about three days journey. This mine of Cana, with another of the like nature, about a day's journey nearer to the Cape Tiberoon, were both discovered by the natives about seven years ago. These mines consisted not only of gold in grain, in common with others of the country, but here was also found great quantities in vein and in stone. Gold in grain is such as they gather from the washings of the floods; gold in vein is where it is found in veins like other metals; and gold in stone is where gold is found intermixt in the rocks or quarryes of stone. After the discovery of these mines, the Indians continued to get great quantities of gold even by their lazy and untoward way of working, until the
Spaniards,

Spaniards, who were then at peace with the natives, came to an agreement with them to send a number of negroes to work on certain conditions: But the Spaniards, having gotten in their finger, soon broke conditions with and disoblged the Indians, and this occasioned the present war between them; and for the recovery of this mine it was that the natives brought assistance at our first arrival. And although the mine does, without all doubt, belong to the natives, and we might justly enough have lent them assistance to recover their right; yet we declined it, lest we should thereby happen to give the least shadow or colour of offence. The mine of Cana continues still to be wrought by 1000 negroes, besides others: But the Spaniards have done what they can to stop up and stifle that next to Cape Tiburoon; because of its nearness to the north sea, and consequently of its vicinity to powerful neighbours. So far as I can learn, this mine of Cana lyes about 15 leagues from your harbour of Caledonia, towards the south-east.

Besides the mines already discovered and wrought, the gold found in the sands of almost every river nearer your settlement, and other things observable, doe sufficiently demonstrat, that their still remains other great and valuable discoveries to be made; but the natives are always the best discoverers, as being the only people left who have any tollerable knowledge of this country, now in a manner totally laid wast, and reduced to a wilderness.

In our passage over land from Caledonia harbour, we have six leagues of very good way to a place called Swatee: From Swatee to Tubugantee we have between two and three leagues not so passable, by reason of the turnings and windings of the river, which must often be past and repast. But a little industry would make this part of the way as passable as any of the rest. At Tubugantee there is ten foot at high water, and so not less

less in the river till it fall into the Gulph of Ballona, which enters the south. This Gulph of Ballona receives severall great rivers, and hath excellent harbours and roads for shipping. This we commonly call the Pass of Tubugantee.

The other pass being that of Cacarica lyes beyond the bottom of the Gulph of Uraba, in about six degrees of north latitude. Its distance from the harbour of Caledonia I reckon thus, viz. to Cap. Tiburoon eight or nine leagues; from thence to the bottom of the gulph 25 or 30 leagues, and from the bottom of the gulph they go up the great river about 12 leagues, and from thence they pass up a river on the right hand called Cacarica, about six leagues, and land at a place where there is a narrow neck of land, not above two English miles broad, of good passable way. After passing this neck of land they come to the navigable part of a river running into the South Sea, called Paya, and from thence they have 14 or 15 leagues into the South Sea.

About 35 leagues to the westward of Caledonia harbour, there is another pass from the river Conception on the North, to that called Chiapo on the South Sea. To go by this pass, it will cost four days of uneasy passage, in small boats, up the river Conception; and from thence there is four days more of very bad way to the river Chiapo; and the passing down that river in small canoes will cost four days more: So that there is no manner of comparison between this pass and the other two. Besides these, there remains only the pass of the river Chagra, ten leagues to the west of Portobell, where they have eighteen leagues by water, and about six by land. But, by reason of the want of a good harbour, the impediments of many flats in the river, and the great rains which fall thereabouts, the pass of Tubugantee seems far to exceed it; but certainly the conveniencies of Tubugantee

gantee and Cacarica together are beyond comparison. Upon the whole, although this country be so near, and lies so convenient in the world, yet we find it so far from being in the possession of any prince or state of Europe, that it then was, and in a great measure still remains, unknown to Christendome, or undiscovered to the trading world.

The time and expence of navigation to China, Japan, the Spice Islands, and the far greatest part of the East Indies, will be lessened more than half, and the consumption of European commodities and manufactories will soon be more than doubled. Trade will increase trade, and money will beget money, and the trading world shall need no more to want work for their hands, but will rather want hands for their work. Thus, this door of the seas, and the key of the universe, with any thing of a reasonable management, will, of course, enable its proprietors to give laws to both oceans, and to become arbitrators of the commercial world, without being lyable to the fatigues, expences, and dangers, or contracting the guilt and blood of Alexander and Caesar. In all our empires that have been any thing universal, the conquerors have been obliged to seek out and court their conquests from afar; but the universal force and influence of this attractive magnet is such, as can much more effectually bring empire home to the proprietor's doors.

But, from what hath been said, you may easily perceive, that the nature of these discoveries are such as not to be engrossed by any one nation or people, with exclusion to others; nor can it be thus attempted, without evident hazard and ruin, as we see in the case of Spain and Portugall; who, by their prohibiting any other people to trade, or so much as goe to, or dwell in the Indies, have not only lost that trade they were not able to maintain, but have depopulated, and ruined their countries therewith; so that the Indies have rather conquered Spain

and Portugall, than they have conquered the Indies : for, by their permitting all to go out, and none to come in, they have not only lost the people which are gone to these remote and luxuriant regions, but such as remain are become wholly unprofitable, and good for nothing : Thus, not unlike the case of the dog in the fable, they have lost their own countrys, and yet not gotten the Indies. People, and their industry, are the true riches of a prince or nation ; and, in respect to them, all other things are but imaginary. This was well understood by the people of Rome, who, contrary to the maxims of Sparta and Spain, by general naturalizations, liberty of conscience, and immunity of government, far more effectually and advantageously conquered and kept the world, than ever they did, or possibly could have done, by the sword.

But, taking a cursory view of the discoveries already made, we find that, besides dyewood, and other valuable growths, this country possesses vast quantities, and great variety, of the best timber for shipping, and other uses, any where found. We likewise find it capable of yielding sugar, tobacco, indigo, caraw, vanillas, annato, cotton, ginger, and such like, of the best, and in greater abundance, than ever can be consumed in the trading world. But, above all, its gold mines, and passes between the seas, are the most invaluable jewels. For, with regard to the mines, let us suppose that 25 or 30,000 negroes, and others, were employed, at but half an ounce of gold each head *per* day, it's easie to be seen, even at this rate, to what immense sums it would amount. And, on the other hand, do but open these doors of Tubagantee and Cacarica, and through them will naturally circulate and flow all the treasures, wealth, and rich commodities, of the spacious South Seas, such as gold, silver, copper, cochanill, saltpeter, caraco, vigionia wool, tortois-shell, balsam of Peru, ambergrease, beafer-
stone,

stone, pearls, emeralds, sapphires, and other wealth, to the value of one hundred millions of crowns yearly.

Time would fail to answer the several queries and objections of those who have not ripely considered a matter so vastly extensive, nor a proposal to the present purpose. But let me briefly state,

1. That no people on earth either did, or can pretend to a better right, than that of vacancy, which we have, not only in this case, but even that of the main discovery, and consent of the nearest neighbours on all hands, added thereto.

2. That, the right being evident, doubtless the weight of this matter, and the danger of its falling into other hands, if not timely and powerfully espoused, ought to outbalance all other state considerations whatsoever.

3. That the respect which, upon such an emergency, is due to the Royal Majesty, and the affection which we owe to our sister nation, will sufficiently incline this Company to be zealous and diligent in laying the weight of these things before the King our Lord, and in using all becoming endeavours for bringing the rest of our fellow subjects to be jointly concerned in this great, extensive, and advantageous undertaking.

4. That a proposal of this kind from the Company will be other than acceptable, ought not be supposed, since, by this means, the consumption and demand of English growth and manufactures, and consequently the employment of their people, will soon be more than doubled. England will be hereby enabled to become the long desired free port, and yet its public revenues, instead of being diminished, will thereby be greatly increased. By this, that nation will at once be eased of its laws of restraint and prohibitions, which, instead of being encouragements, always have, and still continue, to be the greatest letts (i. e. hindrances) to its trade and happiness.

It will not be fit for me to suppose that either Scotland will make unreasonable demands for their right of discovery, possession, or consent of the natives; or that they will at this time unkindly resent the late wrongs and injuries done them upon that account; or, even although the natives should come to be convinced of their joint interest to be concerned, that they should disagree about the quantum; since here is a greater field of trade than can possibly be improved in several ages to come.

But, laying aside these, and other the like conjectures, the vanity and emptyness whereof the wise and prudent of both nations may easily be convinced; and, with regard to the vulgar, it's hopt they will, as some part of an atonement for the many groundless prejudices and fond conceits they use to entertain, be inclined, for this once, to so plain and profitable a truth. In expectation whereof, I shall endeavour to make a proposal, so just, equal, secure, and advantageous in itself, as may render it fit for Scotland to make, and England to accept, whatever the circumstances, or supposed circumstances, of either nation may be, with relation to this matter.

T H E P R O P O S A L.

1. That this design be carried on by a joint stock of two millions of pounds sterling, one-fifth part thereof to belong to Scotland, and the other four-fifths to England.

2. That what this company have already expended hereupon, be allowed them, as part of the said stock belonging to Scotland.

3. That the privileges of this joint company be granted for twenty-one years, with consent of parliament.

4. If,

4. If, at the end of the said term of twenty-one years, the respective governments of the nations shall not think fit to renew these privileges to this joint company's satisfaction; that then, over and above the profits received or become due, the said company shall be repaid double the stock of money by them advanced in supporting and promoting this undertaking.

5. That all his Majesty's subjects be permitted to trade to the ports and places in the possession of this joint company, upon their paying a duty, not exceeding five per cent. of the value of all exportations from thence.

6. That foreigners may also be permitted to trade thither, upon their paying a duty, not exceeding five per cent. of all goods and effects by them imported, over and above the duty of exportation.

7. That a duty, not exceeding five per cent. be laid upon all goods and effects, or re-carried over land, from the one to the other sea.

8. That a duty, not exceeding ten per cent. be laid upon all mines, minerals, jewels, gems, stones of value, pearls, and ambergrease.

9. That one moiety of the said duties do go to the King for his protection, and the other to the company for their stock.

10. That all such foreigners as shall come to be inhabitants in the places of the possession of this company, may thereby have and enjoy the privileges of his Majesty's natural born subjects.

11. So soon as the duties payable to the crown by this proposal shall amount to an equivalent for the customs of both nations; that then the duties payable upon sugar, tobacco, wines, salt, and such like, may be levied by way of excise; and all manner of impositions upon trade or shipping taken off; that these kingdoms may
hereby

hereby become free ports, as all good countrymen do and ought to wish.

So, beseeching Almighty God to bless this company with wisdom, counsel, and other induements suitable to the greatness of the work, and to the valuable opportunity now in their hands; and, after all, that he would be graciously pleased to crown their just and noble designs with prosperity and glorious success; I am, &c.

LETTER from Mr. PATERSON to the DIRECTORS
of the DARIEN COMPANY.

A short description of the heads of my journal concerning the isthmus of Darien, relating to ports, rivers, harbours, islands, bays, on the north and south side of that part of the isthmus which the free Indians inhabit.

You, Gentlemen, are pleased to propose to me, which part, or how much of the country, in or near the isthmus of America, is possessed by the wild Indians independent of the Spaniards?

My answer to this is, that, on the north coast, the Spaniards had no settlement (when I was there) from the bastiments, which lie to the eastward of Portobello, till you come about ten D. eastward to the mouth of the river Darien; all that tract of the continent being possessed by Indian natives, who were under no subjection to the Spaniards; but some of them held some commerce with the Spaniards, and others of them were at war with them, inviting the privateers to their assistance against them. In the islands there are no inhabitants of any sort; but they are frequently visited, as well by the Indians from the continent, as by the privateers.

On

On the South Seas coast, the free Indians have a much longer tract of ground, far from the river Cheapo, to about one half a degree south of the equator, making in a straight line (without reckoning the bending of the coast) nine or ten degrees of latitude, and near upon 600 small ones; one about the river St. Maria, and the Gold river in the gulph of St. Michael; another upon the river of St. John, which empties itself over against the island of Gorgona; and the third, which is called Tomaco, near the mouth of the river that faces the isle of Gallo. The Indians near these settlements have some commerce with their neighbouring Spaniards, as some of those on the north coast have; but those that lie at any distance were enemies to them, as those between the river of Cheapo and the gulph of St. Michael, those of each side of Port Pines, Cape Corientes, the river of St. Iago: And it is very seldom that any Spanish vessel touches at these parts, the isle Gallo being the only place frequented by them hereabout.

This coast, from Point Garashina to Cape Corientes, is a bold coast, with high land to the sea covered with woods, having a few small rivers, but scarce a good port besides Pines, which is also far from extraordinary. From Cape Corientes to Cape St. Francisco is all very low land to the sea, and shole water affording good anchoring in oar on sand; and this tract is full of large rivers, but not deep. These rivers are very rich in gold falling from high mountains, which are continued in a ridge at 16, 18, or 20 leagues distant from the sea, and visible from thence as far as Zuisco, and from thence along the main body of South America. The wild Indians who dwelt along the shore, and between these rivers, are exceeding savage (as those of the river Darien are also said to be), and the Spaniards dread them very much: And this country is also covered with woods, as
well

well as the high coast to the northward of it. Notwithstanding the fierceness of these Indians, and the terror they strike into the Spaniards (whose cruel usage of their neighbours they seem to know and resent), I think it would be no difficult matter to win them to a correspondence by fair and prudent means, and to establish a commerce with them.

2. Gentlemen, the other Querie is concerning the isthmus of Darien: What convenience of settlement is there: What ports, &c.?

I suppose, Gentlemen, your inquiry is chiefly with reference to the north coast; and as to that, I answer briefly, that, from Portobell eastward to the place where the city of Nombre de Dios formerly stood, which is over against the isles Bastementos, the country is under the Spaniards. But the Indians of that part have their plantations very scattering; and, some distance from the shore, the free Indians, who are continued from thence further eastward, have their plantations more close together, so as to make little villages for mutual defence, having generally, for that purpose, a war-house in such villages. But neither do these settle very near the shore, though they often come down thither from the ground plat of Nombre de Dios to Point Samballas, which is a pretty remarkable promontory, because the shore from thence bends more to the southward. It is generally a high woody coast, with no river or creek of note, but only Port Scrivan, which goes pretty far within the land, and is a good harbour, but hath a bad entrance, having several rocks on each side of the channel, especially on the east side, and not above eight or nine feet water, but deeper further in. The opening at the entrance is scarce a furlong over; and the two points that make it are very capable of being fortified, as in the land about the foot of the harbour, which is also very fruitful

fruitful for plantations, and hath good fresh water. The land about this port is low for two or three miles, free from swamps and mangroves, unless a little to the westward.

From Point Samballas the land to the sea is pretty low, and very fruitful, rising up leisurely to the main ridge Hifts, which runs the length of the isthmus, and in a manner parallel with the shore, at some few miles distant. At the mouth of some of the rivers (which here are more numerous, but small and shallow), the ground is mangrovy and swampy, with extraordinary large and stately timber trees, which over-run the whole coast like a continued forest; and this tract, with neighbouring islands, affords a very delectable prospect at sea. These islands are called the Samballas, many in number, but small, and of unequal bigness, and scattered in a range of a considerable length along the shore for a mile or two from it. They lie in clusters, having their length divided in two or three places by navigable channels, which afford so many entrances into the long channel or road, which is made by the whole range of islands and the adjacent continent, and affords excellent riding for any number of ships. There is every where good anchorage, and islands which are all low and flat, guarded in the outside toward the main ocean with a long ryff of rocks at small distance; and these islands afford very good water upon digging, and are plentifully stored with variety of fruit trees, as spadilloes, manuees, &c. beside timber trees, and others, the soil being rich. Small vessels may pass almost any of the islands; but the channels that cross the range admit of large ships, though not these entrances at each end of the long channel, being more shoallie.

From the end of the Samballas, a few leagues further eastward, lies the isle of Pines, the shore between being

much the same at that opposite to the Samballas, but only that it is rocky, and guarded with a ryff of rocks off at sea, which hindered any person from coming near to it.

The isle of Pines is a high land, affording good trees and water, and hath good anchoring on the south side, with a fair sandy bay to land at. Near its eastermost part lies Golden Island, much smaller than the other, and a fair deep channel lies between: It is a good champion level island, moderately raised from the sea by a gentle ascent from the landing place, which is a sandy bay on the south side; but the rest of the shore is a rocky precipice, quite round and inaccessible, so that a good fortification in the island would at once command the landing place and the road before it, which is a very good one in all respects, and is land-locked by the island, and the two points of the neighbouring shore of the isthmus, which opens here into a bay. The very cod of this bay is shallow, and the land by it is swampy; but on each side there is a good land, and good going on shore; and the mouth which faces Golden Isle is deep, and of a good bottom near the eastern point of it, which is not above three or four furlongs distant from Golden Island; and there is a rivulet of very good water. This Golden Isle is without comparison the best place on all this side of the isthmus whereon to make a fortress to secure a trade or a passage over land.

East of this, doubling the promontory, you enter the wide mouth of the river of Darien: But the deep is not answerable to the entrance, though it is deep enough further on. The shore is still much the same, and the land within very rich and fruitful; but hath no harbours beside Carret-bay, which is by report indifferent good; for I have not been there, nor on the coast on the east side of the river.

The

The land of the isthmus in general is very good, with variety of hills and valleys, watered with rivers, and covered with perpetual woods.

The South Sea coast of the isthmus hath no port between the river of Cheapo (so far as which the Spaniards come), and the Gulph of St. Michael; yet there is very good riding all along the shore, and in general in most parts of the Bay of Panama. The shore here in the main is pretty high, with some small rivers that are shallow, and have their outletts in drowned mangrove land.

It is all low land about the Gulph of St. Michael for a great way up the country; and there are many large and deep rivers fall into it. The Spaniards are settled on the middlemost of these: But Congo river on the north side of the Gulph, and that of Sambo on the south, are possessed by the wild Indians; and among some of these, or in the country more to the southward, we should settle, if we would have a port on the South Sea coast, to answer Golden Island for the security of a passage,



B O O K VII.

DISPUTE in Parliament concerning a Standing Army.
— New Parliament. — Army disbanded. — Dutch
Guards dismissed. — Agitation of the King's Mind. —
He intends to put the Government into Commission. —
Anecdotes. — Difference with Ireland. — Fate of Sir
John Fenwick. — Impeachment of foreign Weavers.

A. D. 1698, and 1699.

WHILE the King's mind was distracted by the passions of his English and Dutch subjects urging him against the Darien Company of Scotland, he suddenly felt the passions of his English subjects turned against himself. Peace, which gives rest to other nations, gives none to England: For, in a country in which the monarchical and popular parts of the constitution are under continual suspicions of each other, internal dissension, which is sometimes, though not always, suspended by foreign war, returns with redoubled keenness on the return of peace.

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 1698.

When the King informed parliament of the peace of Ryswic, he had added these words in his speech: " The
 " circumstances of affairs abroad are such, that I think
 " myself obliged to tell you my opinion, that England
 " cannot be safe without a land force; and I hope we
 " shall not give those who mean us ill the opportunity
 " of

Dispute in
 parliament
 concerning
 the army.

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1698.

“ of effecting that, under the notion of a peace, which
 “ they could not bring to pass by a war.” There is a
 fashion in opinions as in other things: The opinion of
 England in that age, and in general it is a just one, was,
 that slavery followed a standing army, as surely as the
 shadow follows the body. People remembered, or heard
 from others, the attempt of Charles I. and the success of
 Cromwell, to destroy the constitution by means of an
 army; the views of Charles II. and of his successor, to
 compass the same end by the same engine, the one in
 Ireland, the other in England; and they remarked, that
 almost all the nations around, one after the other, had
 lost their liberties by the power which standing armies
 conferred upon princes. On the other hand, the King’s
 party, and above all the King himself, argued, “ That
 “ Louis XIV. by keeping up his army after the peace
 “ of Nimeguen, when his enemies disbanded theirs, had
 “ enabled himself to infringe that peace with impunity;
 “ that he was following the very same policy now, by
 “ keeping up one half of his army; that the greatness
 “ of armies in every country of Europe, unknown in
 “ all former times, shewed the wisdom, and the dangers
 “ to which the new government was exposed from the
 “ avowed threatenings of many to destroy it, shewed
 “ the necessity of keeping on foot a larger proportion of
 “ troops than England had been accustomed to, as a de-
 “ fence against foes both foreign and domestic.” And,
 throwing their eyes towards Germany and France, they
 pointed out the strong fortifications which Louis was
 erecting at New Brisac, in place of those which he had
 given up at Old Brisac, and a great encampment, which
 he was at that very time forming at Compiègne, with
 his usual parading vanity, to teach (as he said) the art
 of war to his young grandson, the Duke of Burgundy.
 But there was a third class of men in the nation, who,
 with

with deeper views than either, maintained, "That in-
 "stead of armies by profession, fighting for pay, for
 "whoever gave it, and no longer than they got it,
 "England could defend herself both from foreign and
 "domestic dangers, by a militia of her own people re-
 "gularly trained, and which had much interest to de-
 "fend, and none to attack liberties that were their
 "own."

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But while some trifled on proposals to raise a partial militia, and by lot, and to allow those on whom the lot fell a privilege to buy themselves off, and to substitute others in their places; as if the exemption from serving our country could be called a privilege; Mr. Fletcher of Salton, in a publication, intitled, "A Discourse on national Militias," which is one of the finest compositions in the English language, contended for a general militia, in which every individual in the nation, with very few exceptions, should regularly take his turn in service, and which should be composed of great bodies of infantry, cavalry, and artillery; kept in continual exercise, in moving camps, and those fortified by themselves; and accustomed to form, to attack, and to defend strong places. In such a camp, said he, with that variety and fine pathos of sound which nature always causes to flow from high sentiment: "In such a camp
 "the youth would not only be taught the exercise of a
 "musket, with a few evolutions, which is all that men
 "in ordinary militias pretend to, and is the least part of
 "the duty of a soldier; but, besides, a great many
 "exercises to strengthen and dispose the body for fight;
 "they would learn to fence, to ride, and manage a horse
 "for the war; to forage and live in a camp; to fortify,
 "attack, and defend any place; and what is no less ne-
 "cessary, to undergo the greatest toils, and to give obe-
 "dience to the severest orders. Such a militia, by
 "sending

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“ sending beyond seas certain proportions of it, and
 “ relieving them from time to time, would enable us to
 “ assist our allies more powerfully than by standing
 “ armies we could ever do. Such a camp would be as great
 “ a school of virtue as of military discipline; in which
 “ the youth would learn to stand in need of few things,
 “ to be contented with that small allowance which na-
 “ ture requires; to suffer, as well as to act; to be mo-
 “ dest, as well as brave; to be as much ashamed of
 “ doing any thing insolent or injurious, as of turning
 “ their back upon an enemy; they would learn to for-
 “ give injuries done to themselves, but to embrace, with
 “ joy, the occasions of dying to revenge those done to
 “ their country: and virtue, imbibed in younger years,
 “ would cast a flavour to the utmost periods of life. In
 “ a word, they would learn greater and better things
 “ than the military art, and more necessary too, if any
 “ thing can be more necessary than the defence of our
 “ country. Such a militia might not only defend a peo-
 “ ple living in an island, but even such as are placed in
 “ the midst of the most warlike nations of the world.”

Heated, therefore, by those popular, but generous and sublime opinions, the house of commons, instead of complying with the recommendation in favour of a land force, contained in the King's speech, came to a resolution * to disband all the forces raised since the year 1680; which would have reduced the army to seven thousand men, at a time when France kept up above twenty-five times the number. But, to soften the measure, they added 100,000*l.* a-year to the King's civil list; a gift which had the air of an indignity to a soldier, because it seemed to be the price of taking from him his army. But parliament not having timously

* Commons Journals, 11th December 1697.

enough

enough provided supplies for disbanding the army during the session, the King took advantage of the disorders in the coin and in public credit, which were not then perfectly cured, to keep up his army during the recess, under pretence that there was not money enough to pay it off. And he was the rather encouraged to persevere in this measure, because by the act for triennial parliaments, he was obliged to dissolve the present parliament; and hoped that the next might pay more attention to his opinions, and their own interest.

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1698.

But as it is an observation confirmed by experience, That a parliament dissolved during a torrent of any popular opinion, is always succeeded by one in which that torrent is increased, which gave occasion for Charles II. in harsher terms to say, that a bad parliament was always succeeded by a worse; so the first step which the new house of commons, assembled in the winter of the year 1699, took, was to resolve to disband all the troops in England except 7000, and in Ireland except 12,000. It was added, "That the troops which remained should consist, both officers and men, of natural-born subjects." By this addition to the resolution it was therefore provided, that the Prince's guards, the companions of all his glories and hazards, and the regiments of French Protestant refugees, singularly attached to him for the protection which he had given them in a strange land when driven from their own; and both of whom, making together about 5000 men, had accompanied him to England in the cause of the Revolution, should be dismissed. Yet he kept his temper, and when he passed the bill on the 1st of February, went himself to the House of Lords, and, with the usual simplicity and openness of his manner, made the following wise and generous speech:

New parliament, and army disbanded.
1699.

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1699.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I am come to pass the bill *for disbanding the army*, as soon as I understood it was ready for me.

“ Though in our present circumstances there appears great hazard in breaking such a number of the troops ; and though I might think myself unkindly used, that those guards who came over with me to your assistance, and have constantly attended me in all the actions wherein I have been engaged, should be removed from me ; yet it is my fixed opinion, that nothing can be so fatal to us, as that any distrust or jealousy should arise between me and my people, which I must own would have been very unexpected, after what I have undertaken, ventured, and acted, for the restoring and securing of their liberties.

“ I have thus plainly told you the only reason which has induced me to pass this bill ; and now I think myself obliged, in discharge of the trust reposed in me, and for my own justification, that no ill consequences may lie at my door, to tell you as plainly my judgment, that the nation is left too much exposed.

“ It is therefore incumbent upon you to take this matter into your serious consideration, and effectually to provide such a strength as is necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and the preservation of the peace which God has given us.”

The houses answered the speech with addresses, in which, in affected terms of gratitude exactly proportioned to their want of it, they declined complying with his request. The King gave immediate orders for complying with their resolutions.

Dutch
guards dismissed.

But when the time approached when his guards were to take their leave of him, all the tenderness of mind of a fellow-soldier returned, and he made another attempt to work on the feelings of the nation ; deeming it impossible that

that persons whose religion and liberties he had saved, could be so inattentive to his honour in the eyes of Europe, and to those guards who had so often defended his life in battle, as to expel them from England with marks of suspicion and disgrace; and therefore he wrote the following message with his own hand, and sent it by lord Ranelagh, paymaster of the forces, to the commons:

“ His Majesty is pleased to let the house know that
 “ the necessary preparations are made for transporting the
 “ guards who came with him into England; and that he
 “ intends to send them away immediately, unless, out of
 “ consideration to him, the house be disposed to find a way
 “ for continuing them longer in his service, which his
 “ Majesty would take very kindly.” But the commons stood firm to their purpose, and the foreign troops were shipped off.

Upon this occasion, once, and but once in his life, William lost his temper in government. A well-vouched tradition relates, that when the account of the refusal of the commons to pay respect to his last message was brought to him, he walked some time silent through the room, with his eyes fixed on the ground, then stopped, threw them around with wildness, and said, “ If I had a son, by
 “ God these guards should not quit me.” It is certain, from one of his letters to lord Galway, that four days before he passed the bill for disbanding the army, he intended to have sent the foreign regiments to Ireland, notwithstanding the resolution of the commons that none but natural subjects should serve there. The words are, “ I de-
 “ sign also when the parliament rises to send you your re-
 “ giment of horse, and the three French regiments, and
 “ perhaps Miramont’s dragoons; but that must be very
 “ secret, though I much fear my design is already sus-
 “ pected here.” Other passages of his letters to the same person prove the depth of his resentment. In one of them

Agitation of
 the King’s
 mind.

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BOOK VII.

1699.

He intends
to put the
government
into com-
mission.

he says, "It is not to be conceived how people here are
" set against the foreigners. You will easily judge on
" whom this reflects. There is a spirit of ignorance and
" malice prevails here beyond conception. Be always af-
" fured of my friendship." And another contains these
words : "I have not writ to you all this winter, by rea-
" son of my vexation at what passed in the parliament, and
" because of the uncertainty I was under to know what
" to send you. It is not possible to be more sensibly
" touched than I am, at my not being able to do more
" for the poor refugee officers, who have served me with
" so much zeal and fidelity. I am afraid the good God
" will punish the ingratitude of this nation. Assuredly,
" on all sides, my patience is put to the trial. I am go-
" ing to breathe a little beyond sea, in order to come back
" as soon as possible *." But above all, the evidence is
preserved, that at that time he formed an intention to sus-
pend the enjoyment of a crown which he thought was
dishonoured on his head, to put the government of Eng-
land into hands named by parliament, and to retire to Hol-
land, where he knew that love, gratitude, and honour
awaited him ; and that he actually wrote a speech to par-
liament for that purpose. I transcribe it at length, be-
cause the disorder of his mind is well marked by the indig-
nant sentiments it contains ; and by the involution of pe-
riod labouring to make its purpose more and more clear,
in which it is expressed. "I came to this kingdom, at
" the desire of this nation, to save it from ruin, and to
" preserve your religion, your laws, and liberties ; and
" for that end I have been obliged to maintain a long and
" burdensome war for this kingdom ; which, by the grace
" of God, and the bravery of this nation, is at present
" ended in a good peace, under which you may live hap-
" pily and in quiet, provided you will contribute to your

* Tyndal, pages 289 and 292.

" own security, in the manner I had recommended to you : PART III.
BOOK VII.
 " at the opening of the sessions. But seeing, to the con- 1699.
 " trary, that you have so little regard to my advice, and
 " that you take no manner of care of your own security, and
 " that you expose yourselves to evident ruin, by divesting
 " yourselves of the only means for your defence ; it would
 " not be just nor reasonable that I should be witness of
 " your ruin, not being able to do any thing of myself, it
 " not being in my power to defend and protect you, which
 " was the only view I had in coming into this country.
 " Therefore I am obliged to recommend to you to chuse
 " and name to me such persons as you shall judge most
 " proper, to whom I may leave the administration of the
 " government in my absence ; assuring you, that, though
 " I am at present forced to withdraw myself out of the
 " kingdom, I shall always preserve the same inclination
 " to its advantages and prosperity. And when I can judge
 " that my presence will be necessary for your defence, I
 " shall be ready to return and hazard myself for your se-
 " curity, as I have formerly done ; beseeching the great
 " God to bless your deliberations, and to inspire you with
 " all that is necessary for the good and welfare of the
 " kingdom *."

Perhaps on this occasion his pain was not lessened by Anecdotes,
 the reflection that his Scottish subjects, to whose interests
 he had shewn so cruel a disregard in the affair of Darien,
 gave him that generous credit which his English subjects,
 to please whom they were sacrificed, refused him ; and
 disbanded none of their army. What many of his Eng-
 lish subjects felt for his distress, may perhaps be guessed,
 if men's feelings can be guessed by their conversations,

* The publication of many of King James's papers by Mr. McPherson,
 vindicates the memory of King William in those sallies of passion. It was
 not unknown to him, that Lord Marlborough's view, in the year 1691, in
 attempting to get his guards removed by parliament, was to rob him of his
 crown.

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an anecdote reported of Lord Sunderland, who, tired with the treachery of the world and his own, was then retired to the country, as he thought for ever, from business; for, having been told that the King threatened to throw up the crown, "Does he so?" (said Sunderland); "There is Tom of Pembroke," (meaning the Earl of Pembroke) "who is as good a block of wood as a King can be cut out of: *We* will send for *him*, and make *him* our King."

In cold countries, in which the mind freezes when the body freezes, men of parts are generally lovers of wine. King William at his private parties drunk sometimes to excess. Perhaps the two following anecdotes, which the late Mr. Stone told me he had from the Duke of Newcastle, may refer to a period when his mind, wasted with vexation, might recruit itself with wine. In one of his parties with Lord Wharton, whom he always called Thom Wharton, he said, "Thom, I know what you wish for, you wish for a republic." Lord Wharton answered, "And not a bad thing, Sir, neither." "No, no," said the King, "I shall disappoint you there, I will bring over King James's son upon you." Lord Wharton making a very affected low bow, said, with a sneer, "That is as your Majesty pleases." Yet the King took neither the manner nor the answer amiss.—At another time, having invited the Earl of Pembroke to one of his parties, he was told that the earl was quarrelsome in his cups: He laughed, and said, he would defy any man to quarrel with him, as long as he could make the bottle go round. What was foretold however happened; and Lord Pembroke was carried from the room and put to bed. When told next morning what he had done, he hastened to the palace, and threw himself upon his knees: "No apologies," said the King; "I was told you had no fault in the world but one, and I am glad to find it is true, for I do not like your faultless people." Then taking him by the hand, added,

added, "Make not yourself uneasy : these accidents over
"a bottle are nothing among friends."

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Difference
with Ire-
land.

While these temporary differences between the King and his people were continuing in England, the seeds of a more lasting difference were sowing in Ireland. Mr. Molineux, an Irish gentleman of genius and spirit, had published a book, in which he asserted the right of the people of Ireland not to be regulated by the acts of an English parliament. Complaint was made of it in the house of commons in England. Another complaint was made there, that the Irish were encouraging their woollen manufactures, which would interfere with those of England. The jealousy of empire mingling itself with the jealousy of trade, the commons presented two addresses to the King, one against the book of Mr. Molineux, and the other for increasing the linen, but discouraging the woollen manufacture of Ireland. To the last of these addresses the King's answer was, "That he would take care that what was complained of might be prevented and redressed, as the commons desired." The indignation of the Irish against the English on account of these proceedings was increased by their observing the want of spirit of their own house of commons, who, in an answer to a speech from the lords justices to promote the views of England with regard to her manufactures, said, "We shall heartily endeavour to establish the linen manufacture, and to render the same useful to England, as well as advantageous to this kingdom. And we hope to find such a temperament with respect to the woollen trade here, that the same may not be injurious to England."

But the French, under affected pity for Scotland, Ireland, and the King, indulged in their usual habits of inveighing against the intolerant spirit of the English, "who," they said, "had alienated from them the minds of the Scots, by the oppression of Darien; of the Irish, by
"treating

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Fate of Sir
John Fen-
wick.

“ treating them like slaves, even whose modes of employ-
“ ment they prescribed ; and of their sovereign, whom
“ they had not treated like a gentleman.”

Before the peace of Ryswic was concluded, and consequently before the remembrance of past injuries could be lost in it, the unfortunate major general Sir John Fenwick, who had fled beyond seas the year before, when a proclamation was issued to seize him as accessory to the intended invasion, but who had lately returned, was taken prisoner in England. In order to save his life, he sent to the Duke of Devonshire, to be transmitted by him to the King, a written account of the negotiations of many of his subjects of distinction with King James ; and particularly of the Lords Shrewsbury, Godolphin, and Marlborough, and Admiral Russel. Lord Devonshire, in his own letter, which transmitted it, paying a compliment to the King’s usual policy of overlooking, or of pretending not to see offences against himself, used the following words : “ All I can say is, that whether your Majesty
“ gives no credit at all to that report in this paper ; or
“ if you do, and, in consideration of the difference of
“ times, would have no notice taken of it, some of them
“ being in places of the highest trust, and in all appear-
“ ance very firm to your interest now ; I humbly beg
“ leave to assure your Majesty, that whatever part of this
“ paper you would have kept secret, shall remain so in-
“ violably for me.” Whether the King believed the information or not, is not certainly known. It is probable that he did ; for he knew the secret intrigues against him from other hands, as appears from the following part of Sir John Fenwick’s speech on the scaffold, a part in which he could have no temptation to contrive a lie. “ Lord
“ Devonshire told me when I read the papers to him,
“ that the Prince of Orange had been acquainted with

"most of those things before." And one of the King's speeches afterwards to parliament contains the following generous words: "I should think it as great a blessing as could befall England, if I could observe you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities, which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my subjects *safe* and easy, *as to any, even the highest offences, committed against me.*" But whatever be in this, the King pretended not to believe the information, gave it to those whom it accused, and ordered Fenwick to be brought to his trial. The consequence, and probably foreseen by the King, was, that the persons accused, finding their secrets so ill kept *, corresponded no more with St. Germain's during the course of his reign.

There was only one evidence against Fenwick, and therefore he could not be convicted in a court of law, which required two. But the persons whom he had accused, believing that they could not be safe as long as he lived, bethought themselves of reaching him under the discretionary power of parliament; and therefore admiral Russel laid his confession before the house of commons, under the pretence of clearing his own character, but in reality with a view that it might be made the foundation of an act of attainder. Fenwick was brought to the bar of the house, and required to confess all he knew: but, ashamed to do in public what he had not scrupled to do in private, he refused. All those who, or whose friends were most guilty, then rose, one after the other, and insisted with clamour, that he should name the guilty persons; either perceiving from his manner that he would not, or conscious that from their own numbers they were safe †. Upon his refusal, a bill of attainder was brought in against him. The base witness Porter, who, in the

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* M'Pherson's State Papers, Vol. i. p. 257.

† Journals of House of Commons.

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trials for the assassination, had turned evidence against those friends whose permission he had solicited to strike the first blow at the King's life, was prevailed with to hide persons behind a curtain, to overhear and prove an offer of Lady Fenwick, sister to the Earl of Carlisle, to bribe him to suppress his evidence by retiring to foreign parts; and this attempt of a wife to save her husband's life from danger, was turned into an evidence of his guilt. An examination taken by a secretary of state of one Goodman, who had absconded, was permitted to be read in evidence against Fenwick, when the witness did not appear, though the law required the witness himself to be confronted with the prisoner, and to be seen and examined in court. And from the mere circumstance of Goodman's absconding, though it was not proved by whose persuasion he did so, the guilt of the prisoner was inferred. Evidence was transferred from the records of former trials, and made part of this one. His endeavours to delay his trial, were allowed to be proved as a circumstance to show his consciousness of his deserving the punishment that it would bring upon him. Nay, the evidence of the jury was admitted to prove the circumstances which had induced them to find their bill of indictment. Even Fenwick's accusation of his accusers, which is now known to have been in all points true, was, according to the continual art of those who surround the throne to represent their own enemies as enemies to it, made a criminal charge against him, in the following words of the bill: "As meant by false and scandalous informations to undermine the government, and to create jealousies between the King and his subjects *."

In vain Fenwick's counsel argued, "on the danger of a precedent, which employed the whole force of parliament to take away the life of a man whom the laws

* Fenwick's Trial.

“ of his country could not condemn; those laws of
 “ treason into which parliament, with so much honour
 “ to themselves, had so lately thrown justice and mercy.”

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The bill passed; because those who were not connected with the late King hated the traitor, and those who were, feared him; yet not without long and well disputed opposition; for the bill passed the commons by a vote of an hundred and eighty-nine, to an hundred and fifty-six; and in the other house there was only a majority of seven. It had been proposed in the house of commons, that “ the Lords Spiritual” should not stand in the enacting clause of the bill, from delicacy to the bishops in cases of blood. But Burnet shewed how needless that scruple was with regard to one of them at least, by a long speech *, in which he exhausted all the chicanery of the law, and all the hypocrisy of the church, to vindicate proceedings which exceeded the injustice of the worst precedents in the worst times of Charles II. and his successor. But by a mixture of vanity and shame, although he inserted the speech in his history, he did not avow that he was the person who made it. Fenwick, whose mind was raised by the support which his cause had got in parliament, died with the fortitude of his profession. In his speech on the scaffold, he gave his thanks to those who had opposed the bill; and added these words: “ God bless them and their posterity; though I am fully satisfied they pleaded their own cause when they defended mine.”

The King was blamed for signing the warrant for execution; and his enemies, and even King James †, imputed it to a private pique against Fenwick, for some indiscreet reflections on William’s conduct in an action in Flanders. But the posterity of those times will now judge, whether the following be, or be not good apolo-

* Tindal.

† King James’s Memoirs.

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Foreign
weavers im-
peached.

gies for the King : That Fenwick acknowledged he had been engaged in a train of negotiations for several years to dethrone him, and even knew of an intention to assassinate him, yet had neither prevented it, nor put him on his guard against it ; and that it was become impossible for the King to pardon him, without an implication of the guilt of those whom he accused.

Some time after, the house of commons impeached ten foreign weavers and smugglers, for carrying on a smuggling trade with France, to the prejudice of the Lute-string Company of London ; in the conduct of which they were very near getting into a quarrel with the house of peers, whether they should stand, or be permitted to have seats, in attending the trial. At last the trial was conducted in Westminster-hall, with all the apparatus which had attended that of King Charles. And then from the King, the complaints of the public fell upon parliament : For, the uncertainty of proceedings was remarked, which had not impeached sir John Trevor, whose guilt was not denied ; had impeached the Duke of Leeds, whose guilt was only suspected ; had acquitted Mr. Duncombe, whose crime, of the same evil tendency, but of far greater magnitude than theirs, was proved, and had been confessed ; had taken away the life of sir John Fenwick without evidence or law ; and had debased themselves, by the arraignment of some miserable foreign mechanics.

But from those internal commotions and complaints, to which every King and parliament of England must submit, the attention of William was soon called to objects far more interesting to mankind, of which an account will be given in the next book.

B O O K V I I I .

*First Partition Treaty, and First Will of the King of Spain.
—Second Partition Treaty, and Second Will.—Third
Will and Death of the King of Spain.—Louis accepts the
Will.—Reflections on the Partition Treaties.—Act of Re-
surrection.—The English Fleet bombards Copenhagen, and
saves Sweden.*

Anno 1699, and 1700.

LOUIS the Fourteenth had been impelled to wish for the peace of Ryſwic, not by the neceſſities of his kingdom alone, but by his own views to the King of Spain's ſucceſſion, who was then drawing faſt to his end, and without iſſue. The Princes who might pretend to this ſucceſſion were, 1ſt, The Dauphin of France, neareſt in blood, becauſe he was the ſon of Maria Teresia his eldeſt ſiſter. 2d, The Electoral Prince of Bavaria, who was grandſon to Margaret Teresia his younger ſiſter: The ground on which the Electoral Prince's title of preference to the Dauphin ſtood, was the renunciation of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion by the Dauphin's mother, with conſent of her huſband Louis the 14th. 3d, The Emperor Leopold, ſon of Mary Ann, younger ſiſter of Philip the Fourth of Spain, whoſe eldeſt ſiſter Ann Mary Mauricia had been married to the father of Louis the 14th, but which

Princeſs

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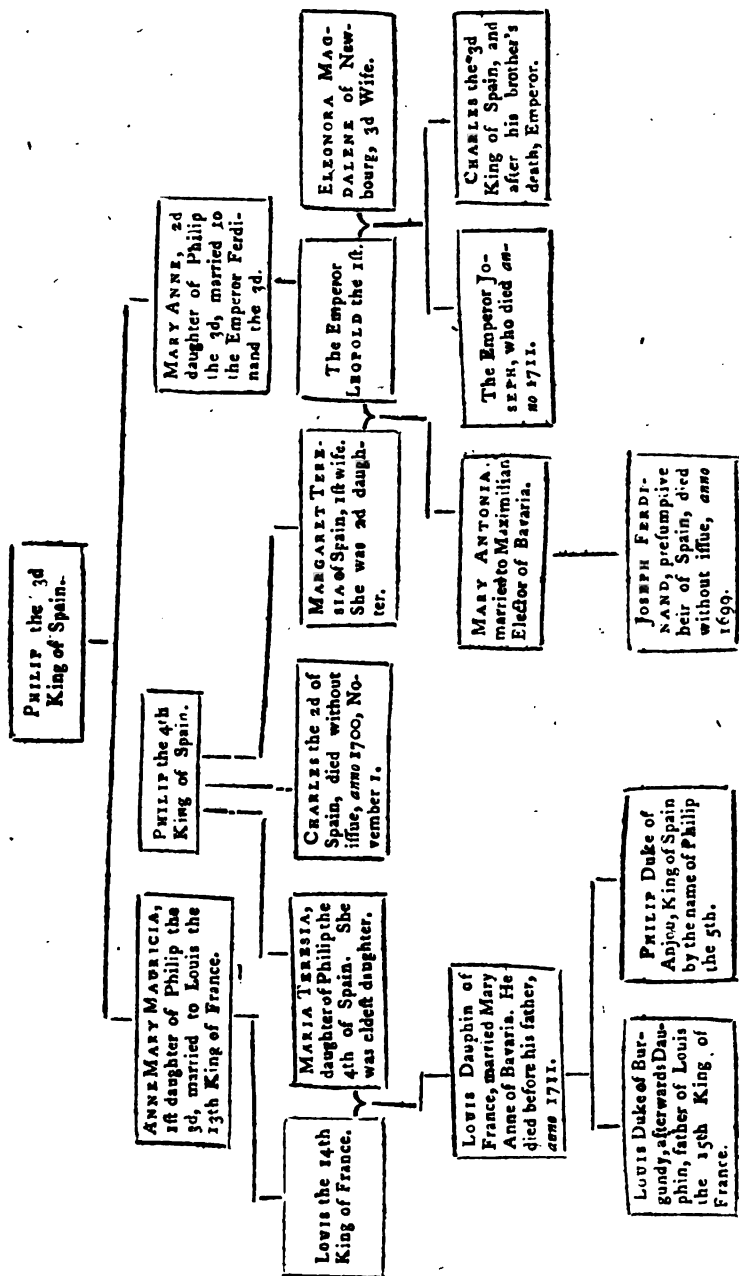
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First Parti-
tion Treaty.

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Princess had also in her contract of marriage, with consent of her husband, renounced right to the Spanish succession. The Genealogical Tree is contained in the opposite page; and from thence it appears, that the title of the Emperor, in the competition, was by far the worst, and that of the Dauphin the best founded. But, at this time, Louis the 14th could not well expect a succession for his son, from a right which the father and mother, grandfather and grandmother of that son, had renounced; nor from the will of Charles the Second, whom Louis, though his brother-in-law, had long injured and insulted. His best chance, therefore, of getting even part of the Spanish succession for his son, was first to obtain a peace with Spain, and with his enemies and his rivals; and then, in a treaty, to prevail upon those rivals to divide the succession with the Dauphin, or with those enemies to force them to do so, because it was against the interest of other powers that the whole succession should be thrown undivided into the scale either of the House of Bourbon or Austria, who were the most likely to assert it by force of arms, as they only had the strength to make their claim good in that way. The Prince on whom Louis cast his eyes to effectuate those purposes, was the King of England, whose influence was greater than that of any other power, and who had a personal, as well as a political interest, both for his own sake and the sakes of Holland and England, to preserve an equal balance among the great nations of Europe; and therefore he took advantage of Lord Portland's embassy of compliment to Paris, to propose a partition of the Spanish succession, in which the Elector of Bavaria's son should hold Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies; the Milanese should go, not to the Emperor, but to his second son the Archduke Charles, in order to prevent the power of Germany and of Italy from



being united under one head ; and that the rest of the Spanish dominions in Italy, the small Tuscan islands, the Marquisate of Final, and the small province of Guipiscoa in Spain, should be the portion of the Dauphin.

King William, who singly saw through business much better than Louis with all his courtiers and counsellors, perceived that Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies, thrown into the hands of the family of Bavaria, could add no new weight either to the houses of Austria or Bourbon : that Spain, the natural friend, not the rival of England, because the productions of the South fall naturally to be exchanged for those of the North, would recover and prosper just in proportion as she was disburdened of distant dominions, which were a dead weight upon her ; an observation, the truth of which has been confirmed by the condition of Spain in the scale of nations ever since the peace of Utrecht : that the Netherlands, in the hands of a Prince who held Spain, the Indies, and Bavaria, would be better defended than by one who was loaded with the defence of Italy, and yet possessed not Bavaria : that the Milanese, in possession of an independent Prince, would prove a bulwark to Italy against the house of Austria, and, by a junction of interests with the Duke of Savoy, who held the keys of Italy against France, give security to the Duke : that Italy had been long the grave of French armies, would require a great French force to preserve it, and keep Louis from injuring his northern neighbours : and that though the possession of Guipiscoa would save France from the invasions of Spain on that side, on which account probably Louis had asked it ; yet it could give no new advantage to France to invade Spain, because the barren mountains of Navarre, Arragon, and Biscay, were poor temptations ; and of the three passages into Spain on that side,

side, by Pampeluna, Victoria, and Bilboa, the first was over almost impassable mountains, the next through strait valleys easily commanded, and the last along rocks of the sea which defended themselves; and France was already possessed of passages sufficiently easy into the fine parts of Spain by the Mediterranean, or by the east side of the Pyrenees, which run so far down upon the Spanish territories, that though they saved France from the insults of Spain, they left Spain exposed to those of France *. The King, therefore, wrote privately from Holland to the Lord Chancellor Somers, for a warrant under the great seal, blank in the names of the persons who were to conduct the treaty. The letter paid him the compliment of asking his opinion upon the subject of it.

It is one of the prices which nations governed by law, and not by the will of the Sovereign, pay for their liber-

* In travelling from Spain into France, by Perpignan, I made this observation, that though France and Spain were separated by nature by the Pyrenees, yet the French government had contrived, by art, to separate Spain from France, but not France from Spain: For, on the side of France, the French have made a noble road, winding up round the sides of the hills, so as to make the ascent for troops and their carriages almost imperceptible; and have built a strong fortress called Bellegarde, within a few miles of the flat country, from whence they have a spacious view into the richest part of Spain, to animate and encourage troops, as Hannibal's army was by the first sight of Italy, and Xenophon's by the first sight of the sea: and from thence the French have an easy entry into Catalonia and Valencia, with nothing to interrupt them but Figuera, which is commanded by a height, and Barcelona, which is not strongly fortified on the land side, and commanded by the Fort Mounjoy, not difficult to be taken;—whereas if a Spanish army were to attempt an expedition into France, it would be stopped by the fortress I have mentioned at the first move; and if the fortress was carried, all advance through the Pyrenees into France could be stopped, by blowing up the road in three or four places. Perhaps to this, as much as to the family compact, is owing the present dependence of Spain upon France: But, in proportion as France extends her power of offending at land, England should in time of war, by destroying her trade and seizing her settlements, contract her power of offending at sea.

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ties, that their councils are much directed by the great officers of the law, who are sometimes mean men, got up by mean arts ; and are generally unfit by their habits and studies for the great lines of war and politics, because the division of professions in modern times prevents the same man from performing, as in ancient Rome, the duty of a general and a consul, as well as of a prætor in a court of justice. Lord Somers, therefore, though endued with great public and private virtue, and superiority of knowledge above all others in his own line of life, after consulting with a few of the other ministers, wrote a letter to the King, in which he displayed all the ingenuity of his profession in starting difficulties. With the ideas of a merchant, he objected, that the possession of Sicily would give the command of the English Levant trade to France ; although it be obvious, that the ports of Sicily lie towards Italy, not towards Afric, and consequently not in the passage of English ships to the Levant ; and that the possession of Sicily and Naples by France would rather have proved a bridle upon her, because an English squadron could at any time have laid all the ports of Sicily and Naples, and the metropolis and palace of a King of Naples, in ashes. He added, that the shutting out the Milanese from the harbours of Italy would rob them of their trade, though it does not appear that England had much interest to take care of the trade of Milan. He then proposed that England should stand neuter, and leave the French King to execute his treaty himself ; but with the caution and the puzzle of a lawyer, he asked what security Louis was to give that he would not take advantage of that neutrality ? He complained, with the ignorance of one not acquainted with the first science of a politician, the geography of nations, that the possession of Guipiscoa would give the French as easy a passage into Spain as they already had on the side of Catalonia. He suggested, that the King should

endeavour

endeavour to procure from the house of Bavaria a share of the trade to the Spanish plantations ; an article, which, if proposed, must have thrown confusion into the treaty, because the King could not ask it in private, without infidelity to his allies, nor in public, without their asking it also ; and which, if granted to them, would have exposed the Spanish coasts of the South Sea to the depredations and contraband of France, England, Holland, and one half of the coast of Italy. He informed the King, that the nation would not engage in a new war ; yet objected to the only measure that could prevent it *. It is not to be wondered at, that William did not wait for his chancellor's answer, but concluded the treaty with France and Holland on the 19th of August, four days after he had asked his advice. Lord Portland in a short time after formally signed on the part of England.

A secret kept with difficulty by the ministers, though few in number, of two Kings, was impossible to be kept at all by ten ministers who signed it of a republic ; and therefore the secret of the partition treaty passed from Holland to Madrid. The feelings of the King of Spain as a man, however weak in understanding and health, were hurt by the freedoms taken with his succession while he yet lived ; and his pride as a monarch, and that of his people, by the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy : But above all, the interests of the great who surrounded him, felt themselves affected by the loss of provinces, the governments of which they foresaw would continue no longer to be the appendages of their families : And therefore Charles the Second made a will, by which he bequeathed the whole Spanish monarchy, undivided, to his grand-nephew, the Prince of Bavaria. But as human policy and human will are often defeated by accident, the

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First Will of
the King of
Spain.

* See the Letter at the end of this book.

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Second Partition Treaty.

sudden death of the Prince six months after, stripped him of a succession, to most of which he was destined by the three greatest powers of Europe, and to the whole by him who had, if any had, the best right to dispose of it.

King William, however, whose whole life was spent in struggling against the power even of accident, in a few months after concluded a new partition treaty with France and Holland; the articles of which were, that Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands, should fall to the Archduke Charles; the Milanese, to the Emperor's nephew and favourite the Duke of Lorraine, who in return was to cede Bar and Lorraine to Louis the Fourteenth; and the other Italian dominions, together with the province of Guipiscoa, were to be the portion of the Dauphin. In treaties which depended on moments, because the King of Spain's life depended on a moment, and on secrecy, because his caprices were uncertain, the consent of the Emperor could not be waited for; and therefore King William took upon himself to obtain it. But selfishness made the Emperor prefer himself, and vanity made him prefer the representative of his house, to the interests of his second son and of his nephew; and his counsellors, with the flattery common to all courtiers, and the religious credulity peculiar to the court of Vienna, had continually in their mouths the common Austrian saying, That the star of Austria, which had so often protected her, would favour her now*. But their real object was the disposal of governments and employments which they foresaw a German King of Spain would have in his power to bestow upon Germans: And therefore, the use which the Emperor made of the treaty, when communicated in secrecy to him, was to inform the King of Spain of it; and by means of that Prince's consort, who was the Emperor's

* Marechal Villars's Memoirs.

niece, to irritate him a second time against Louis the Fourteenth. Charles the Second made a second will, in which he bequeathed his whole dominions, undivided, to the Archduke.

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Second Will
of the King
of Spain.

Soon after, the King of Spain grew worse and worse, and, like other dying men, was surrounded by priests and designing persons. Among these last were the chief nobility of Spain, who had been disgusted with the access which the King's marriage with a German Princess had given to German councils and counsellors to interfere in the affairs of Spain, and who would have been equally disgusted with French councils and counsellors if they had had the same access. These, joining with the clergy, persuaded him to ask advice of the Pope; knowing well that the Pope, warned by the fate of his predecessors, would never consent that an Austrian Prince should be master of Italy. And that Pontiff, like all other Pontiffs, mingling principles of conscience with those of state, advised him to revoke the will in favour of the Archduke, and to make a new one in favour of the family nearest of blood to him; but that the person appointed should not be the eldest son of France, but his brother the Duke of Anjou, in order to prevent the crowns of France and Spain from being united under one head, or rather to keep the court of Rome independent of both. Charles followed the advice, and soon after died.

Third Will
and Death
of Charles.

The situation of Louis was now become delicate: If he rejected the will, he injured his grandson, to whom a great empire was bequeathed; if he accepted, he broke his faith. In the one case, his kingdom would reap the advantage of the possession of Lorrain and Bar, to gain compactness and strength in all future ages: In the other, he would himself receive the immediate advantage of directing the councils of Spain, ingrossing her trade, and sharing her treasures in the Indies, under the pretence of protecting

Louis ac-
cepts the
Will.

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protecting them. In such a situation, Louis inclined to the feelings of nature, and of immediate advantage. The Emperor's conduct, and a condition in the will, furnished him with a pretence : for the Emperor had refused to accede to the treaty of partition ; and the will bore a condition, that if the Duke of Anjou did not take the succession, the Archduke Charles might ; and if he did not, that the Duke of Savoy might ; which put it in the power of Louis to lament that his refusal to receive the will for his grandsons, would only serve the families of other Princes. Yet he ordered the conduct he should follow to be debated in council in his presence. On the result of a flattering council, which was to take the blame off him if its opinion proved fatal, and yet left the honour to him if it proved fortunate, depended the fate of some millions of his subjects. In all monarchies, whether absolute or limited, the opinions of councils flatter those of the King. Louis accepted the will, and thereby signed the death-warrant of those millions. In passing from the council-room, he said, with a mixture of concern and carelessness, to the ladies of his court, who were waiting near it with impatience, " Whatever I do, I shall be blamed."

Reflection
on the Par-
tition Treas-
ties.

As the partition treaties are, next to the revolution, the chief features of King William's policy, it is just to his memory, and to the cause of human kind connected with it, to examine their merit. Had those treaties taken effect, the following consequences would probably have followed :—A few years peace, added to the then parsimony of English parliaments, and to the terrors which the English then entertained of public debts, would have cleared the seventeen millions and a half of public debt which were due at the peace of Ryswic: No new debt could have been contracted by the war of the succession, because the possibility of that war was removed by the partition treaties : The rivers of blood shed in that war would have

have been saved : The animosities between England and France ever since the war for the succession, so fatal to both, would probably never have existed : America and Ireland might still have remained the dominions of England : And Britain and Ireland, clear of public debt, and not thinned by wars, might have been as rich and populous as ancient Sicily, or modern Indostan. Such were the felicities which William had prepared for a people whose liberties and religion he had saved, but who at that very instant were driving his guards from the protection of his person, though it had been twice attempted to be assassinated in the course of two years, and who soon after impeached his ministers, for risking their heads to promote treaties calculated to cover their impeachers with blessings.

It has been said, that William was the dupe of Louis in the treaties of partition, who only made use of them to provoke the King of Spain against his former allies. But they should rather have provoked him against his brother-in-law, who, besides his present hand in the treaties, had, so far back as the year 1668 *, entered into a similar treaty for the partition of his dominions, with the Emperor ; and had, in the year 1693, proposed to the King of England, through the mediation of the court of Denmark, to secure a part of the Netherlands to the Prince of Bavaria. Men judge too often of measures by their events : Had the undivided succession of Spain gone either to the Prince of Bavaria, or to the Archduke, in consequence either of the first or of the second will of the King of Spain, both of which were made amidst the heat of his provocations, then France would have complained that Louis was the dupe of William, who only made use of him to provoke the brother against the brother-in-law, the uncle against the nephew. But the refinement imputed to the

* Marechal Villars's Memoirs.

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conduct of Louis, is most solidly disproved: for, the Memoirs of Monsieur de Torci, who was his secretary of state at the time, and conducted the negotiations; and of Marechal Villars, who was his ambassador at Vienna, prove, that the last will of the King of Spain was as great a surprise upon the French court, as it was upon those of London or Vienna. Far from resenting upon his former allies the conduct of William, Charles at different times bequeathed his dominions to two of them, one after the other, and he never thought of passing into the house of an enemy for a successor, until the hour when men generally lose all resentment against others in fears for themselves, and when he was surrounded with priests and designing persons, who, to cover their own interests, rung the calls of nature and of conscience in his ears.

Discontents.

In the course of those treaties, and for some time before them, discontents against government had been growing in the people. The chief cause was assigned by Lord Somers in a letter to the King, of date 28th August 1698, in these words: "They seemed to be tired out with taxes, to a degree beyond what was discovered, till it appeared upon the occasion of the late elections."—But there were other causes: They were displeased with their Sovereign for residing in foreign countries during the intervals of parliament, when he had no longer the pretence of attending to the war for doing so; with his having kept the army on foot after one parliament had voted to disband it, and his reluctance to disband it when pressed to do so by another; with the secrecy wherewith the partition treaties had been conducted, without consulting parliament, or even the privy council; and with the uncertainty and fears which the treaties themselves created. These discontents soon spread, as they always do, from the people to their representatives; and perhaps were not lessened in many of these last, by the suspicion, that they could never

be

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Act of re-
sumption.

be forgiven by the King for having affronted him in the eyes of all Europe by the dismissal of his guards.

The effects of this temper were seen as soon as the second session of this parliament began, in the winter of the year 1699. The King's foreign had been more attached to him than his English servants, whose wishes were often carried from him by the connections of party. They had also in foreign business, and in the management of the detail of the war, served him more ably, because they were more accustomed to both. But though men of family, they were soldiers of fortune; and the English and Irish peerages, which for a while were the only favours he had to bestow on them, could be of little use to men who for the future were to live in a country in which wealth was more considered than title. In order to shew his gratitude to one of them, he had some years before given Lord Portland a very large grant of crown lands in the principality of Wales. But the commons had remonstrated against the grant, both on account of the extent of it, and because there was some doubt in law whether the lands could be alienated from the principality. The King, who was not obstinate in public partialities to his friends like Charles the First, nor indifferent in private to their fates like Charles the Second, had given, with that simplicity of expression which was habitual to him, the following answer, prudent and candid to the house, just to his friends.

• GENTLEMEN,

• I have a kindness for my Lord *Portland*, which he has
 • deserved of me by long and faithful services; but I
 • should not have given him these lands, if I had imagined
 • the house of commons could have been concerned. I
 • will therefore recal the grant, and find some *other way*
of shewing my favour to him.

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The

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The way which William had in his eye in this answer to shew favours, was by grants of forfeited estates in Ireland, which, by the laws of treason, were indisputably at his own disposal. But a bill of resumption of the past forfeitures, and to apply them to the payment of public debts, having passed the commons, the King had prevented its going further, by proroguing the parliament; on which occasion he in his speech gave an assurance, ‘ that he would make no grants of forfeited estates till there be another opportunity of settling that matter in parliament.’ But since that period other opportunities had presented themselves, in other sessions, and under another parliament, without his hearing more on the subject. He therefore considered that this promise did not bar him from making such grants; and accordingly he had lately made several, but chiefly to his foreign servants, the Lords Portland, Albemarle, Rochford, Gallway, and Athlone, and to his favourite Lady Orkney; and all of these, particularly the first and last, were of large extent; the one being said to contain 136,000 acres, and the other to be worth 25,000 *l.* a-year, but both far beyond the truth. The commons presented an address against the grants to the King, who marked his chagrin in the following answer :

‘ GENTLEMEN,

‘ I was not only led by inclination, but thought myself obliged in justice, to reward those who had served well, and particularly in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to me by the rebellion there.

‘ The long war in which we were engaged did occasion great taxes, and has left the nation much in debt; and the taking just and effectual ways for lessening that debt, and supporting public credit, is what in my opinion will best contribute to the honour, interest, and safety of the kingdom.’

The

The commons, provoked by the King's insinuation of their having neglected their public duty, framed a resolution, 'That whoever advised the answer, had endeavoured to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the King and his subjects.' Other angry resolutions followed; one of which was, 'to address the King, that the procuring or passing exorbitant grants by any member of the privy council, to his use or benefit, was a high crime and misdemeanour.' They appointed commissioners to enquire into the value of the estates, and to whom given; and upon report made that the estates contained a million and a half of acres, and were worth two millions and an half sterling, both of which were exaggerated to excess, they framed a bill to resume them, and apply them to the payment of public debts; and in order to prevent the bill from being defeated in the house of lords, they, by a form seldom used, and which very seldom should be used, tacked it to their bill of supply; so that the lords could not refuse the one, without disappointing the other. The lords, to secure themselves from that insignificancy to which the form of the bill tended to reduce them, disputed in some conferences with the commons the form of it with warmth, but the resumption which it contained with indifference. And both houses, even the servants of the crown, gave themselves little trouble to defeat it, partly to gain popularity, but more from national antipathy to foreigners, and envy against gifts in which themselves were no sharers. The King, making allowances for national weaknesses, and for those of human nature, passed the bill without any complaint in public, but with a generous indignation in private, which perhaps made the blow fall more heavy on his friends, when, in order to soften it, he said to them, that it was for his sake, and not for their own, they were suffering*.

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* *Vid.* his Letters to Lord Galloway.

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The King's known intention to pass the bill did not affect the commons with much gratitude. They resolved upon an address, 'That no person who was not a native of his dominions, except the Prince of Denmark, be admitted to his Majesty's councils in England or Ireland;' a resolution which could not fail to remind him, that a similar resolution projected by the Earl of Marlborough in the winter before the battle of La Hogue, had been intended as one of the two moves which was to shake him on his throne*; and therefore he prorogued parliament on the 11th day of April, before the address could be presented to him.

Copenhagen
gen bombarded,
and Sweden
saved.

As soon as parliament rose, the King sent a squadron of thirty English and Dutch ships of war, under Sir George Rooke, into the Baltic, to protect the young King of Sweden, Charles XII. whom the powers of Denmark, Poland, and Muscovy, had at that time combined to overwhelm. Rooke, instead of trifling in his command to relieve or attack places, or to go in quest of the enemy's fleet, struck his blow directly at the capital of Denmark, and bombarded and stationed his fleet before Copenhagen. Then appeared the importance of the empire of the sea: For the King of Denmark instantly detached himself from his allies; and the King of Poland, who was prepared to bombard Riga, desisted, lest he should hurt, as he said, the effects of Dutch and English merchants in the town. It was not clear that William was by treaty obliged to make the exertions which he made, and he had not consulted either parliament or his privy council in forming his resolution; but it was attended with success; it pleased an high-spirited nation; and the King thought the best praise he could receive was, that no complaints were made in England of what he had done.

* *Vid. 1st Book, with the authority there quoted.*

A P P E N D I X

T O

P A R T III. B O O K VIII.

Letter from Lord Somers to King William.

S I R,

HAVING your Majesty's permission to try if the waters would contribute to the re-establishment of my health, I was just got to this place when I had the honour of your commands; I thought the best way of executing them would be to communicate to my Lord Orford, Mr. Montague, and the Duke of Shrewsbury (who, before I left London, had agreed upon a meeting about that time) the subject of my Lord Portland's letter, at the same time letting them know how strictly your Majesty required that it should remain an absolute secret.

Since that time Mr. Montague and Mr. Secretary are come down hither, and upon the whole discourse three things have principally occurred, to be humbly suggested to your Majesty.

1st, That the entertaining a proposal of this nature seems to be attended with very many ill consequences, if the French did not act a sincere part; but we were soon at ease as to any apprehension of this sort, being fully assured your Majesty would not act but with the utmost nicety, in an affair wherein the glory and safety of Europe were so highly concerned.

The

The 2^d thing considered was the very ill prospect of what was like to happen upon the death of the King of Spain, in case nothing was done previously towards the providing against that accident, which seemed probably to be very near: The King of France having so great a force in such a readiness, that he was in a condition to take possession of Spain before any other Prince could be able to make a stand. Your Majesty is the best judge whether this be the case, who are so perfectly informed of the circumstances of parts abroad.

But, so far as relates to England, it would be want of duty not to give your Majesty this clear account, that there is a deadness and want of spirit in the nation, universally so, as not at all to be disposed to the thought of entering into a new war, and that they seem to be tired out with taxes to a degree beyond what was discerned, till it appeared upon the occasion of the late elections; this is the truth of the fact, upon which your Majesty will determine what resolutions are proper to be taken.

That which remained was the consideration what would be the condition of Europe, if the proposal took place: Of this we thought ourselves little capable of judging, but it seemed, that, if Sicily was in the French hands, they will be entirely masters of the Levant trade; that if they were possessed of Final, and those other sea-ports on that side, whereby Milan would be entirely shut out from relief by sea, or any other commerce, that dutchy would be of little signification in the hands of any Prince; and that, if the King of France had possession of that part of Guipiscoa, which is mentioned in the proposal, besides the ports he would have in the ocean, it does seem he would have as easy a way of invading Spain on that side, as he now has on the side of Catalonia.

But

But it is not to be hoped, that France will quit its pretences to so great a succession without considerable advantages ; and that we are all assured, your Majesty will reduce the terms as low as can be done, and make them, as far as is possible in the present circumstances of things, such as may be some foundation for the future quiet of Christendom ; which all your subjects cannot but be convinced is your true aim. If it could be brought to pass that England might be some way a gainer by this transaction, whether it was by the Elector of Bavaria (who is the gainer by your Majesty's interposition in this treaty), his coming to an agreement to let us into some trade to the Spanish plantations, or in any other manner, it would wonderfully endear your Majesty to your English subjects.

It does not appear, in case this negociation should proceed, what is to be done on your part, in order to make it take place : Whether any more be required than the English and Dutch should sit still, and France itself, to see it executed. If that be so, what security ought to be expected, that if, by our being neutrals, the French be successful, they will confine themselves to the terms of the treaty, and not attempt to make further advantages of their success ?

I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon that these thoughts are so ill put together : These waters are known to discompose and disturb the head, so as almost totally to disable one from writing : I should be extremely troubled, if my absence from London has delayed the dispatch of the commission one day. You will be pleased to observe, that two persons (as the commission is drawn) must be named in it, but the powers may be executed by either of them. I suppose your Majesty will not think it proper to name commissioners that are not English, or naturalized, in an affair of this nature.

I pray

I pray God give your Majesty honour and success in all your undertakings. I am, with the utmost duty and respect, &c.

TUNBRIDGE, }
29th August 1698.

P. S. The commission is wrote by Mr. Secretary, and I have had it sealed in such a manner, that no creature has the least knowledge of the thing, besides the persons named.

B O O K IX.

A new Parliament. — The King appoints a Tory Ministry. — His refined Policy to bring the Parliament into the War of the Succession. — Whig Lords impeached for Partition Treaties, and acquitted. — Settlement of Protestant Succession, with its Conditions. — Affairs of Ireland and Scotland. — Anecdotes.

A. D. 1700, 1701.

A Parliament which, in two successive sessions, had shewn so little regard to the King's personal feelings as a monarch, a soldier, and a friend, could hardly expect to sit a third time, and therefore he resolved to get quit both of it and of his whig ministers, who had been of so little use to him in it. But, to conceal his intentions, he prorogued parliament from time to time, giving often hopes of assembling it again, until the month of December, when he summoned a new one to meet him two months after. The use he had made of the recess was to pack parties, with a view to make his business move more easily in the new parliament than it had done in the last. In doing so he had many advantages: The people always judge of measures by their events; and the issue of the partition

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1700.

New Parliament.

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tion treaties was unlucky ; in consequence of which, his whig ministers, who conducted them, were become unpopular, and it was believed that impeachments would be brought against them. The whig party itself in parliament was, at this time, unpopular, on account of their having, in compliance with the King's will, followed their leaders in voting against disbanding the army, contrary to the ancient principles of their party, and in voting against the bill of resumption, which the people had been made believe would produce so much money, as to disburden them of all those parts of the taxes which fell heaviest upon them. The King therefore desired Lord Chancellor Somers, Mr. Montague, head of the Treasury, Lord Orford (formerly Admiral Ruffel), head of the Admiralty, to resign their stations, and even Lord Portland his place of the Groom of the Stole, that no distinction might appear to be made between English whigs and foreign whigs. All these persons obeyed, except Lord Somers, who said he had done no wrong, and feared nobody ; and therefore the King was obliged to send a formal message, requiring the great seal from him. Many inferior figures of the whig party were removed. By these changes the King compassed three ends at once : He could oblige others with the vacant places ; he gained popularity by removing unpopular ministers ; and yet these ministers durst not quit him in parliament, because they depended there for his protection against the storm which threatened themselves. Paying court to the tories, he prevailed with Sir George Littleton, Speaker to the former parliament, to drop his pretensions to be Speaker to the new parliament, in favour of Mr. Harley (afterwards Earl of Oxford), head of the tory party in the house of commons ; and committed the power of prime minister to the Earl of Rochester, head of the same party in the house of lords, whom he appointed

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for the sake of the great emoluments of the office, but with no intention that he should go soon there. But, above all, he trusted that he should obtain popularity to himself all over the nation, by making provision against the return of the exiled family, and for the security of the Protestant succession, for which there was now an opening by the death of the Duke of Gloucester, only son to the Princess Anne, which had happened during the interval of parliament.

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The great object of the King's wishes at this time was, to prevail with his new parliament to get France and Spain, or rather France alone (for Spain was, at this time, so weak as hardly to be counted in the scale of nations), either by treaty or force, but rather by force (for of successful treaty there was little chance), to give the custody of a number of cautionary towns in the Spanish Netherlands, as a barrier for the security of Holland, and (as was alleged) of Britain. But when the meeting of parliament approached, it was discovered, that though the King had a majority in the house of lords, by the junction of the interest of the late ministers, on account of their fears, to that of his present ministers, who were glad to receive help even from foes; yet that the house of commons, composed chiefly of tory members, and consequently of the landed interest, were averse from war, because they foresaw, that the taxes necessary to support it would fall chiefly upon them, according to the common, and, in general, true saying, that all taxes fall ultimately on the landlord. The King therefore resolved to act the very same part with regard to foreign affairs, which, in his march from Torbay to London, he had acted with regard to the revolution; that is, to suit his conduct to accidents, and to take care, that whatever measures were adopted, should be those of the English themselves, and not his.

The King's refined policy to bring England in to the war.

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With this view, on the 14th of February, after pressing the houses, in the first part of his opening speech, to provide for the security of the Protestant succession, he informed them of the accession of the King of Spain, and, with an air of indifference, added, that he desired them "to consider the state of affairs abroad." The commons framed a resolution in as general terms, "That they would support him and his government, and take measures for the safety of England, of the Protestant religion, and of the *peace of Europe*." The peers went much further; for, in their address, they "desired the King to enter into alliances with all those Princes and states who were willing to unite for the preservation of the *balance of Europe*," and sent it to the commons for their concurrence; but the commons demurred, and desired a conference.

In order to quicken the commons, the King, on the 17th of February, sent to parliament an intercepted letter from Lord Mellfort to his brother Lord Perth, which shewed, that there was a project in agitation for an invasion from France; and next day sent a memorial from the Dutch, in which they informed him, that they had offered a negotiation to France for the prevention of war, to which they asked his concurrence; that a disappointment in the negotiation might draw down upon them the resentment of the King of France, who had already sent numerous forces to their frontiers; and entreated, that he would keep in readiness the 10,000 men, and the 20 ships of war, with which England was, by the treaty of the year 1677, bound to assist them, if they were attacked. But the commons took no notice of the first paper, and went no farther on the second, than to address the King, on the 20th of February, to comply with the terms of the treaty of the year 1677, and to enter into such negotiations, in concert with the Dutch and other powers, as might conduce

conduce to the safety of the King's dominions, and of the Dutch, and the preservation of the *peace* of Europe. So that while he was desired by the one house to provide for the *balance of the power* of Europe, he was desired by the other to provide only for its *peace*; by the one to enter into *alliances*, but by the other only to *negotiate*.

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On the 18th of March, he laid before the commons proposals made by him and the Dutch to France and Spain, but which had been refused, to wit, that England should be permitted to keep cautionary garrisons in the towns of Ostend and Newport, as a barrier for England; and the Dutch in the towns of Vanloo, Ruremond, Stevenswardt, Luxemburgh, Namur, Charleroi, Mons, Dendermonde, Damme, and St. Donnas, as a barrier for Holland. But the commons took no notice of the proposals, further than to thank the King for communicating them.

On the 24th of April, he laid before the commons several resolutions of the states-general, full of hostility to France, and of attention to England: The commons did not even thank him for the communication.

At last, on the 8th day of May, the King communicated to both houses a letter from the states-general to him, in which, with the highest kind of eloquence, to wit, the simple enumeration of striking circumstances, they said, "The French had made many attempts to engage them in a negotiation separate from England, but to none of them they had listened, because they deemed the interests of Holland and England to be inseparable, The French had drawn one line from Antwerp on the Scheldt to the Maese on the one hand, and were preparing to draw another from Antwerp to the sea at Ostend on the other, with an intention to lock them up within those lines. They had placed French garrisons in all the Spanish towns in the Netherlands; had sent great bodies of troops, and great trains of artillery to
" the

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“ the towns on the Dutch frontiers; and established great
 “ magazines of provisions, and of all sorts of military
 “ stores in these last. They were erecting forts under the
 “ very cannon of many of the Dutch places; and by trea-
 “ ties of alliance, or under pretence of neutralities, were
 “ detaching from them those allies who surrounded and
 “ formerly defended them. A peace, in such circum-
 “ stances, was worse to them than a state of war, because
 “ they were receiving injuries which they were not at li-
 “ berty to repel; whereas in war they could both ward
 “ mischief from themselves, and inflict it on their enemies.
 “ As one of their last resources, they had broke down their
 “ dikes, and covered their country with water, because
 “ less dangerous to them than the menaces of France;
 “ and had now no longer safety on any side, except from
 “ the sea, and the protection of England.” This recital
 made the greater impression, because accounts had been
 received at different times in England, that the French
 had taken possession of the Italian provinces of Spain, as
 well as of the Netherlands; detained the Dutch garri-
 sons, whom they found in these last; stationed their grand
 fleet to keep possession of the bay of Cadiz; and sent
 squadrons of ships of war, and fleets of merchantmen, to
 the Spanish harbours in the West Indies and America,
 while they would not permit the ships of any other na-
 tion to enter them. And therefore, at last, the genero-
 sity of the Dutch, in refusing to treat separately from
 England, and their extreme distress, affected the minds of
 the commons as much as of the peers. The peers, in an
 address to the King, said, “ They were satisfied that the
 “ safety of Holland and England were so inseparably con-
 “ nected, that what was ruin to the one, was fatal to the
 “ other;” and desired him “ to enter into a strict league,
 “ offensive and defensive, with Holland, for the common
 “ preservation of both countries; and that he would in-

“ vite

“vite into It all Princes and states who are concerned in
 “the present visible danger, arising from the union of
 “France and Spain; and particularly that he would form
 “an alliance with the Emperor, pursuant to the ends of
 “the treaty of the year 1689.” They concluded with a
 prayer, “That God Almighty might protect his person
 “in so righteous a cause, and carry him and them with
 “honour and success through all the difficulties of a just
 “war.” In terms more modest, but of equal consequence, the commons resolved, without a contradictory voice, “effectually to assist his Majesty to support his allies in maintaining the liberty of Europe.”

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This unanimity was occasioned by an accident, of which the King scrupled not to take some, though not too much advantage: Soon after the new parliament was assembled, the tories made preparations for impeaching the late whig ministers, the Lords Portland, Somers, Halifax, and Orford, for negotiating the partition treaties; and the Marquis of Normanby began the attack upon them in the house of lords. But the King retired to the country*, and seemed to give himself no trouble about it. In the two first weeks of April, the lords were impeached, and, on the 16th of that month, the commons, in a very artful address, in which they endeavoured to separate the King's conduct from that of his ministers, in the management of the treaties, prayed him “to remove them from his presence and councils for ever.” The King's answer was, that “he would employ none in his service, but such as should be thought likely to improve the mutual confidence between him and his people.” From this answer it was inferred, that he was to give up the four lords to the vengeance of their enemies. But a few days after, the house of lords, regarding the laws of

Whig Lords
 impeached;

1701.

* Burnet.

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1703.

justice, and the dignity of parliament, addressed him not to prejudge the cause of persons who were under trial by the impeachments, nor to punish any person until guilt was proved against him : And then the King ordered their names not to be erased from the council-book, which must have been erased, had he intended to comply with the address of the commons ; and from that order it was inferred, that he meant not to give them up. In this uncertainty of his intentions, the tories hoped, that by pleasing him on the subject of the war, they should induce him to let the impeachments take their course ; and the late whig ministers and their friends hoped, by the same compliance, to gain his protection against the storm. And thus both houses and both parties gave him full authority to form the alliances he wished for,

and acquit-
ted.

The impeachments proceeded, but were defeated by the partiality of those who conducted them : For they did not include in the impeachment Lord Jersey, because he was of their own party, although he had been secretary of state, and ambassador in France, in conducting the last of the treaties ; and they insisted with the lords, that the accused peers should not judge in any question relating to each other. But above all, the attempt which had been made to prevail with the King to punish men who were entitled to be presumed innocent till they were found guilty, and who were actually under trial for fortune, life, and fame, shocked their generous judges. The commons therefore, under pretence that the peers had done injustice to them, in refusing to comply with some trifling forms of procedure on which they insisted, did not appear at the bar of the house of lords, when called upon to support their impeachments, and the lords were acquitted. Each house then made grievous complaints of the other ; and the people, according to their different humours, complained sometimes of the one, and sometimes of the other ;
displeased

displeased in public, as they always are, that the great had not fallen, and yet pleased inwardly, that no injustice had been committed.

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1701.

But while the two parties were thus struggling to pull each other to pieces in parliament, both of them had neglected the great object from which the King had expected so much popularity to himself, the settlement of the Protestant succession. The bill which had been brought in for that purpose in the beginning of the session, lay over for two months: And when it was taken up, Bishop Burnet says, few members attended the house, and that it was put upon a member, who was not in his right senses, to name the successor. When the whig party in England assume the merit of placing the family of Hanover on the throne, they belie all history to serve themselves: For they opposed and defeated the settlement, soon after the revolution, and gave themselves no trouble about it in the end.

Settlement
of Protestant
succession;

But parliament shewed more attention to the conditions on which they received the new family; because, in framing those conditions, they could indulge party spirit, and private passion. Almost all of the conditions were intended as hits against a King who was intent on nothing but their good: For, one condition reflecting on the King's favour to foreigners was, that foreigners should be incapable of sitting in parliament, or in the privy council of England, of holding offices civil or military, or of receiving grants of land from the crown: Another was, that the reigning prince should not engage the nation in wars, on account of foreign dominions, without consent of parliament, in allusion to the King's foreign wars, his attack upon Copenhagen, and the partition treaties: A third, that the King should not go abroad without consent of parliament, in allusion to the frequency of his journeys to Holland: A fourth, that

and its
conditions.

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1701.

every privy counsellor should sign his opinion, because that form had been disregarded in the conduct of the partition treaties: And the last, that no placeman or pensioner under the crown should sit in parliament, because the King had twice refused a bill for that purpose. Yet William, like a wise mother to a froward child, gave way to them all, conscious that no future prince would be rash enough to engage the nation in wars without the consent of parliament, when the supplies, which were to support them, depended on parliament; that the first prince of spirit who filled the throne would, for his own sake, get the third condition, and the privy counsellors, and members of parliament, for their own sakes, get the two last conditions revoked; in all of which expectations his views into futurity have proved just since his death.

Affairs of
Ireland;

There are different ways of conducting different nations: But the fairest and gentlest are generally the most easy. I once asked the late Lord Harcourt, when lord lieutenant of Ireland, how he contrived to carry all the points of government, and yet to be the favourite of the people? He made this golden answer, "I never trick the Irish." To guide the people of that country, their rulers must be as open as themselves. Ever since the recal of Lord Sidney, the King had seen this truth in its full light. By shewing mercy to the rebel, and placing just confidence in the loyalist, he secured both: He asked nothing of Irish parliaments, but what it was their own interest to give; and, in return, they presented no bills, but what it was his interest to pass. The monarchical and popular parts of the constitution, therefore, vied with each other, which should most promote the public service, and the public good. Hence the Irish, who, in the beginning of his reign, appeared the most disaffected of all his subjects to his person and cause, became in the end

end the most attached to both; and his memory is, at this day, more dear in Ireland, than in any part of the British dominions. The dispute about the linen and woollen manufacture in the year 1698 had created a disgust between the two nations, but none between the Irish and their sovereign: For he, who, from his youth, had conducted the affairs of a mercantile state, knew well the impossibility of diverting the course of manufactures from their own channels, by declarations of rights in public assemblies; and therefore, although in public he paid the compliment to the prejudices of his English subjects, of recommending to the Irish parliament the interests of the linen, in preference to the woollen manufacture, because the last was the staple of England; yet he took not offence when no attention was paid to his recommendation in public, and when it was counteracted every where in private: And the wise of both countries were pleased, that, by drawing a prudent veil over pretensions on both sides, hostilities were prevented, or at least suspended, till a period when nothing but an union between the two kingdoms will probably be able to prevent them any longer. The consequence of all these things was, that Ireland, by her troops, her supplies, and the example of her loyalty, was of great weight to William and to England in the scale of Europe and of the war.

To conduct Scotland in this reign was not so easy, ^{and of Scotland.} because the Scots, through the habits of religious and civil faction, ever since the birth of their Queen Mary, were become more designing than the Irish; yet still it was not difficult. After the settlement of presbytery, the clergy universally, and the common people almost universally, were on the side of the revolution: And in a country in which every the most trifling transaction of life, in order to be valid in law, must enter into a

F f 2

record,

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record, with the name and designation of the party concerned in it, which makes every man who has a title to birth capable of proving it by record, and therefore stamps a value and pride upon birth, and in which subordination to superiors was habitual, it required little else on the side of government to conduct the governed, than politeness to the higher, and attention to commit no outrages, against the inferior orders of the state. Hence the affairs of the King and of the nation had moved easily along in Scotland for several years after the year 1693. The diversion of the money to the service of Ireland in that year, which had been intended to raise regiments in Scotland, was felt only by those who had been disappointed in not getting the commissions. The affair of Glencoe, though prosecuted in parliament, had not been punished there; because the warrant, twice signed by the King, made the attack upon his ministers too personal to himself; and because the Lords Stair and Breadalbane kept a prudent silence upon the share which the privy council of Scotland*, and several of the great families, had in ordering and preparing the execution of the letters of fire and sword; and consequently were protected by all those whom that silence served. The address of the English house of commons, in the year 1695, against the Darien company, was imputed to national caprice, not to the King. Even the memorial of his resident at Hamburgh, which disowned the company, and the proclamations of his American and West India governors, which proscribed it, were imputed to the English ministers, and not to the King, because he disavowed, and promised to recal them. But his assurances having produced no effect, either because, in the hurry of other business, he had neglected to issue the

* Vide Part II. Book VI. of these Memoirs.

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orders he intended, or because his orders were not obeyed (for it is not certain which of the two was the case), the rage of the Scots rose against the King, in proportion to the confidence which they had reposed in him, which they thought he had abused: And it was not a resentment of the multitude, or of an opposing party, but of his ministers and servants joined to both, because their own fortunes, and those of their relations, friends and dependants, were embarked in the company. On these accounts the King had been obliged to permit only two sessions of parliament to be held in four years. The last of them had even been adjourned by the lord commissioner in a hurry, in the middle of a debate on the wrongs done to the Darien company: And the King had received a petition to re-assemble it, and to do justice to the Darien company*, when presented to him in the name of the Scottish nation, by his late lord chancellor Tweeddale, with less civility than was usual to him. Every nerve, except that of downright rebellion, the Scots exerted as public bodies, and as individuals, in the cause of their company, their country, and of human kind; and their public papers, drawn by such hands as those of Lord Stair and Fletcher of Salton, are models of composition to shew respect to government, mixed with firm assertion of their own rights: But all in vain.— In this situation the King had, for several years, drawn either no supplies from Scotland, or they were so trifling as not to deserve the name of supplies, and (which was more material to a soldier) none of the usual parliamentary grants of recruits for the service of his regiments†. So that Scotland was become a mere feather to its sovereign in the scale of the war. The present, therefore,

* Vide the Marquis of Tweeddale's account of the audience, in a letter from him to the Darien company.

† The last grant was of 1000 recruits in the year 1695. Vide Scots Acts, 1695.

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was not a time for the King to ask the concurrence of the Scots in his views against France, or in the settlement of the succession of a crown, which, at that time, in that country, was so unpopular on his own head.

Anecdote.

All these proceedings of the Scottish parliament, of the Darien company, of the King's ministers, and of the King, were published in a volume in Scotland: And from that publication it has been made a question, whether William behaved with his ordinary sincerity and steadiness, in the assurances of favour which he gave more than once to the Company during their distresses. The following anecdote makes it probable, that there was a struggle in his breast between the part which he was obliged to act to please his English and Dutch at the expense of his Scots subjects, and his own feelings: A provision ship of the first colony, in which were thirty gentlemen passengers, and some of them of noble birth, having been shipwrecked at Carthage, the Spaniards believing, or pretending to believe, that they were smugglers, cast them into a dungeon, and threatened them with death. The company deputed Lord Basil Hamilton from Scotland, to implore King William's protection for the prisoners. The King, at first, refused to see him, because he had not appeared at court when he was last in London. But when that difficulty was removed by explanation, an expression fell from the King, which showed his sense of the generous conduct of another, although influenced by the English and Dutch East India companies, he could not resolve to imitate it in his own. For Lord Basil's audience having been put off from time to time, but at last fixed to be in the council-chamber after a council was over, the King, who had forgot the appointment, was passing into another room, when Lord Basil placed himself in the passage, and said, "That he came commissioned by a great body

“ of his Majesty’s subjects to lay their misfortunes at
“ his feet, that he had a right to be heard, and would be
“ heard :” The King returned, listened with patience,
gave instant orders to apply to Spain for redress, and
then turning to those near him, said, “ This young man
“ is too bold, if any man can be too bold in his country’s
“ cause.” I had this anecdote from the present Earl of
Selkirk, grandson to Lord Basil.

Kings and nations should consider well before they
commit wrongs. King William’s desertion of a com-
pany, erected upon the faith of his own charter, and the
English oppressions of it, were the reasons why so many
of the Scots, during four successive reigns, disliked the
cause of the Revolution and of the Union. And that
dislike, joined to English discontents, brought upon
both countries two rebellions, the expenditure of many
millions of money to suppress them, and (which is a far
greater loss) the downfall of many of their noblest and
most ancient families.

B O O K X.

*Death of James, and his Son proclaimed in France.——
Popular Rage on that Account.——New Parliament.
——The King's Reconciliation with Whigs.——Terms
of second grand Alliance, and Reflections on it.——
King's Death.——Effect of it in the Minds of the
People.——The King's Character.——Error in his Con-
duct of the War, and Consequences drawn from it.*

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AS soon as the session of parliament was over in the end of June, the King went to Holland, to re-
vive the ashes of the grand alliance, upon the resolu-
tions which he had obtained from the two houses, and to
concert with foreign generals there, the plans of future
campaigns which he meditated. But though his body
was wasted, his legs swelled, his voice like that of a
grasshopper weakened by an asthma, the most dis-
couraging of all diseases, because at every draught of
breath it reminds the sufferer, and those who see him,
that it may be his last; yet, surrounded with statesmen
and warriors, the eye of the eagle (that feature of his
face which struck the Duke of Berwick, when he saw
the King for the first time at the battle of Landen) and
the spirit of the eagle still remained with him. He con-
cealed from the public, though not from his friends, his

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Death of
King James,
and his son
proclaimed
King in
France.

consciousness of the little time he had to live, and on that very account exerted himself the more to make use of that little.

About the same time his unfortunate rival was on his death-bed at St. Germain, surrounded by priests, and a few followers of the Scots and Irish nations, who continued faithful to his fortunes to the last. Lewis XIV. whose resolutions were always directed by a strange mixture of policy and sentiment, in which sometimes the one, and sometimes the other got the better, paid him a visit when in this situation. But whether he meant it as a mere visit of compliment and sympathy, or whether he had further views, is not known. When he entered the chamber, James was lying on his back with his eyes shut; the posture in which he commonly kept himself, that his mind, wrapped up in religious meditations, might be the less disturbed by external objects: His servants were performing services on their knees around him. So that Lewis thought he was dead, and was retiring. But one of the attendants informing James that the King of France was come to see him, he looked round the room, but was so insensible as not to perceive him, and said, "Where is he?" Lewis approaching the bed, James was not able to speak, but taking the King's hand into his two hands, grasped it, kissed it, and a tear or two trickled upon it. Lewis, struck with the contrast between his own grandeur, and the humbled state of the other, burst into tears, and assured him that he would protect his son, and proclaim him King, upon an event which he hoped was far off. All in the chamber threw themselves on the ground, sharing in the passion of their two sovereigns. From thence the contagion of sympathy ran to the guards of the palace at the gate, and from them to the multitude without; so that when Lewis took his coach, he passed through thousands of people,

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people, blessing and praying for him, amidst the extreme imprudence of the measure to his own and his people's peace, perhaps more happy in that tender moment of passion, than he had ever been in his most active hours of exultation and glory. As he passed he called for the officer of the guard, and gave him orders for proclaiming the young prince, as soon as his father expired. The officer, who happened to be an Irishman, bowed, kneeled, and, weeping, retired. A few days after, on the 17th September, James died, and his son was proclaimed at St. Germain's King of the British islands, with all the parade of heralds, trumpets, and other ceremonies usual on such occasions.

Popular rage
on that ac-
count.

The news of this proclamation set all England in a flame; for even those who wished well to the family of Steuart, accounted it an indignity, that a King of France should presume to name a King of England without consulting his subjects. Addresses to the throne were therefore poured from every quarter of the kingdom, filled with gratitude to heaven for the revolution, loyalty to William and the house of Hanover, and hostility against France. The King took advantage of the accident, as he was accustomed to do of every other, and, in November, amidst the transports of the people in his favour and against France, summoned a new parliament; conscious, from the reluctance which the late house of commons had shown to the war, their violence against his late ministers, and their differences with the house of lords, that it would be the height of imprudence to begin a great war with a discontented and a divided parliament. The event answered his expectations: A new house of commons was returned by the people, which entered into all his views for the war; approved of his alliances (commonly called the second grand alliance) with the Dutch, the emperor, the Danes,

New parlia-
ment. Re-
conciliation
with whigs.

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and the Swedes, to carry it on ; voted a levy of 40,000 forces, a fleet to be equipped with 40,000 seamen to serve in it, and supplies to be raised adequate to the services for which they were needed ; addressed the King never to make peace with France, till he and the nation had received reparation for the affront lately put upon both at St. Germain's ; attainted the unfortunate boy of twelve years of age, who had been proclaimed King of England there ; and framed a bill that passed into a law, which required an oath abjuring him, to be taken by all persons in public stations, and another to attain the late Queen ; but the more generous peers would give no countenance to the last.

It was the whig party who chiefly promoted those measures in parliament, partly from perseverance in the old principles of their party against France, and their own principles in favour of the revolution ; and partly because they who were the moneyed interest knew well, that those who had money would get better terms for it from the public in time of war, than in time of peace. At the end of the last parliament they had even attempted to bully the house of commons, by presenting to them one paper, entitled the *Kentish Petition*, in name of a great number of respectable persons in public and private life of that county, and by conveying to the speaker another, entitled *Legion*, which bore to be in name of two hundred thousand of the people, in which they called upon the Commons to exchange their addresses for bills of supply for a war, and to attend to the voice of the people ; and the last threatened them with vengeance if they did not. The King, who had not been displeased in secret with such applications then, though he pretended to be so, marked in public now the pleasure which he received from the compliances of parliament, and put a number of the whigs into the active

active departments of the state; and I have seen a correspondence between Lord Sunderland and the King, which shewed, that, tired with the unroyal occupation of balancing parties, and of intriguing with his own subjects and servants, he had formed a final resolution to let a free nation have its way in favour of the reputed sons of freedom, and to govern during the rest of his reign, or at least as long as his people chose it, by that whig party which, at the convention, had placed the crown on his head.

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When the terms of the second grand alliance were examined by the public, it was found, that the Italian dominions of Spain were destined for the emperor, who had the worst right to them, the Spanish Netherlands as a barrier to the Dutch, who had no right at all, and the Spanish Indies as a prey to Holland and England, who had as little. Princes are often as culpable to the human race in their negotiations as in their wars: For, the convulsions of empires and nations, of which those terms laid the foundation, arose from offers of peace improperly refused on former occasions. It is a melancholy reflection upon the negotiations which preceded and succeeded the peace of Ryswick, that King William, in the year 1693, refused for the house of Bavaria, that succession to the Spanish Netherlands, which, in the first partition treaty, he took so much pains to obtain for it; and that Louis, in the year 1701, refused to England and Holland the custody of ten cautionary towns in the Netherlands, when, a short time before, he had agreed to give up the dominion itself of the whole Netherlands, at one time, to the prince of Bavaria, and, at another, to the archduke. Had William accepted the offer of Louis at the first period, the war of the first grand alliance would have ended four years sooner than it did, and the war of the second grand alliance might have been prevented.

Terms of second grand alliance, and reflections on it.

And

PART III. And had Louis accepted the offer of William and the
BOOK X. Dutch at the last period, the second war of the grand
 1701. alliance had never been made, because the emperor was too weak to withstand what France, England, and Holland had agreed upon. And, in this last case, the second branch of the house of Bourbon, for whose sake Louis embroiled all Europe, would, at this day, have possessed the Milanese, Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, and the beloved rock of Gibraltar, together with the dominion of the Spanish Netherlands; and, perhaps, that dominion, unfettered with the English and Dutch garisons, proposed to be put into some of its towns, but which those nations would perhaps, long before now, have withdrawn, with the same indifference wherewith the present emperor, by a cruel satire either upon the politics of the last age, or upon his own politics, has dismantled a barrier, which two wars and two reigns were employed to obtain,

Death of
the King.

But, in the midst of those great projects of negotiation and war, the King got a fall by the stumbling of his horse near Hampton-court, by which his collar-bone was dislocated. It was immediately set, and his surgeon advised him to rest. But he had business at Kensington, and, disregarding pain and danger, as he usually did when his mind was intent on its pursuits, went there in his coach, by the jolting of which, the bandage of the dislocation was loosened, and a trifling injury to a feeble body brought death upon him in a few days. He kept his senses to the last moment, took his farewell of several of the great who surrounded him, and, calling for Lord Portland, endeavoured to speak to him; but being unable, drew Portland's hand to his heart, pressed it there, and expired an hour after, on the 8th day of March, in the 52d year of his age. On his left arm was found a ribbon, which had tied to it a gold ring, with
 some

some hair of the late Queen Mary. The last words of Charles II. were the expression of a man who regretted to part with life for the sake of its pleasures: "Faites ouvrir les rideaux, à fin que je voye encore le jour:" "Open the curtains that I may once more see the light of the sun*." But the words of William near his end, with the indifference of a firm mind to what he could not help, were, "Je tire vers ma fin:" "I draw to my end." Cromwell, who destroyed the constitution, received a public funeral; but King William, who saved it, did not; and no honours were raised to his memory, from the dislike of his successor to him, the parsimony of parliament, and the ingratitude of a public, which has a much better memory (if I may be pardoned such an expression) for favours to come, than for favours that are past.

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Some maliciously observed upon his death, that the horse from which he fell, had been formerly the charger of the unfortunate Sir John Fenwick, for whose death the King had been blamed. But the more generous remembered, and recounted then, or since, "That to King William, the first act of toleration, known in the history of England, is due (and which was not followed by a second, till the reign of his present Majesty, and the administration of Lord North†):

Sentiments
of the pub-
lic on his
death.

" That

* Appendix to former volume of these Memoirs, Part I.

† The writer of these Memoirs has been complained of by some persons, on account of the last of those acts, to wit, that of toleration in favour of Roman Catholics. That he suggested it, that he pressed it, and that, to a certain degree, he had the honour to conduct it, he avows, and wishes it may be engraved on his tomb-stone. He understood at the time, that the success of the bill in England was due to the generosity of the clergy of the church of England. He has reason to believe, that its not being extended to Scotland, was owing to a few of the clergy of that church. If that belief be just, then to those persons it is to be imputed, that fire was first set to Edinburgh, next to Glasgow, in the end to London,

and

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“ That it was he who erected the bank of England ; he
 “ who gave wings to the public credit of England ; he
 “ who established the East India company of England
 “ on a firm basis ; he who settled the family of Hanover
 “ on the throne of England, although he knew well (of
 “ which I have seen certain evidence) that the first of
 “ that family, whom he destined to the succession, the
 “ Electress Sophia, was no friend to him ; he who re-
 “ ceiving much bad usage from the nation which he had
 “ saved, bore it all, steady to the great general good,
 “ unfeeling only to the injuries done to himself ; he
 “ who, when obliged to injure the relations of nature,
 “ in order to save liberty, the protestant religion, Eng-
 “ land, Holland, and all Europe, except France, en-
 “ deavoured to repair that injury by intended kindnesses
 “ to King James’s Queen, and to King James’s son ;
 “ he who, of the only three free nations then on earth,
 “ the Swifs, Dutch, and English, saved the liberties of
 “ two ; he, in fine, to whom mankind owe the singular
 “ spectacle of a monarchy, in which the monarch derives
 “ a degree of greatness and security from the freedom of
 “ his people, which treasures and arms cannot bestow
 “ on other princes ; and that at a time when military
 “ governments are extending their strides over every
 “ other part of Europe, there is still one country left, in
 “ which it is worth the while of a man to wish to live.”
 And, attending to events which immediately preceded
 the close of his life, they observed, “ That the last treaty
 “ which he signed, was the second grand alliance : That
 “ the last appointment which he made of a general and
 “ ambassador to conduct that alliance, was of the Earl of

and that similar laws of toleration, in favour of protestants, which, to his certain knowledge, were intended in more than one Roman Catholic country of Europe, were not promulgated. I mention these circumstances to shew how much good even one private person may do in a free country, as I did ; and how much mischief a few may do, as they did.

“ Marlborough, because he knew the superiority of his
 “ talents for war and negotiation, though he liked not
 “ the man, and had received deep injuries from him :
 “ That the last charter which he was to have signed,
 “ and which was signed by his successor, immediately
 “ after his death, was the charter uniting the two East
 “ India companies into the present great one : That the
 “ last act of parliament which he passed, completed the
 “ security of the Hanover succession, often pressed for
 “ by him before : That the last message which he sent
 “ to parliament, when he was in a manner expiring,
 “ five days before his death, was to recommend an
 “ union, twice recommended by him to parliament be-
 “ fore, between the two parts of the island, which
 “ doubled the strength of both, by disabling their ene-
 “ mies to make advantage of their dissensions : And
 “ that his last speech to parliament, was one of the
 “ noblest that ever was spoke by a British prince.” I
 transcribe some passages of it, because the speech is
 known to have been his own composition, and indeed is
 easily distinguishable as such, by the air of simplicity and
 sincerity which breathes forth in it.

“ My LORDS and GENTLEMEN,

“ By the French King’s placing his grandson on the
 “ throne of *Spain*, he is in a condition to oppress the
 “ rest of *Europe*, unless speedy and effectual measures be
 “ taken. Under this pretence he is become the real
 “ master of the whole *Spanish* monarchy ; he has made
 “ it to be entirely depending on France, and disposes of
 “ it as of his own dominions ; and by that means he
 “ has surrounded his neighbours in such a manner, that,
 “ though the name of peace may be said to continue,
 “ yet they are put to the expence and inconveniencies of
 “ war.

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“ This

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“ This must affect England in the nearest and most
“ sensible manner: In respect to our trade, which will
“ soon become precarious in all the various branches of
“ it; in respect to our peace and safety at home, which
“ we cannot hope should long continue; and in respect
“ to that part which England ought to take in the pre-
“ servation of the liberty of *Europe*.

“ In order to obviate the general calamity, with
“ which the rest of *Christendom* is threatened by this
“ exorbitant power of *France*, I have concluded several
“ alliances, according to encouragement given me by
“ both houses of parliament, which I will direct shall be
“ laid before you, and which I doubt not you will
“ enable me to make good.

“ You have yet an opportunity, by God’s blessing,
“ to secure you and your posterity in the quiet enjoy-
“ ment of your religion and liberties, if you are not
“ wanting to yourselves, but will exert the ancient vi-
“ gour of the *English* nation; but I tell you plainly, my
“ opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this occasion,
“ you have no reason to hope for another.

“ In order to do your part, it will be necessary to
“ have a great strength at sea, and to provide for the
“ security of our ships in harbour; and also, that there
“ be such a force at land, as is expected in proportion to
“ the forces of our allies.

“ I do recommend these matters to you with that
“ concern and earnestness, which their importance re-
“ quires. At the same time I cannot but press you to
“ take care of the public credit, which cannot be pre-
“ served but by keeping sacred that maxim, that they
“ shall never be losers, who trust to a parliamentary se-
“ curity.

“ It is always with regret, when I do ask aids of my
“ people; but you will observe, that I desire nothing

“ which

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“ which relates to any personal expence of mine ; I am
 “ only pressing you to do all you can for your own
 “ safety and honour, at so critical and dangerous a
 “ time ; and I am willing, that what is given, should
 “ be wholly appropriated to the purposes for which it is
 “ intended.

“ And, since I am speaking on this head, I think it
 “ proper to put you in mind, that during the late war
 “ I ordered the accounts to be laid yearly before parlia-
 “ ment, and also gave my assent to several bills for
 “ taking the public accounts, that my subjects might
 “ have the satisfaction to know how the money given
 “ for the war was applied ; and I am willing that that
 “ matter may be put in any farther way of examina-
 “ tion, that it may appear whether there were any mis-
 “ applications and mismanagements ; or whether the
 “ debt, that remains upon us, has really arisen from
 “ the shortness of the supplies, or the deficiency of the
 “ funds.

“ I should think it as great a blessing as could befall
 “ England, if I could observe you as much inclined to
 “ lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities which divide
 “ and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my
 “ subjects safe and easy, as to any, even the highest of-
 “ fences committed against me.

“ Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of
 “ our enemies by your unanimity.

“ I will only add this ; if you do, in good earnest,
 “ desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and
 “ to be indeed at the head of the Protestant interest, it
 “ will appear by your right improving the present op-
 “ portunity.”

This speech was translated and published in every
 country of Europe, and roused princes and states,
 some by their policy, some by their religion, but all

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Character
of King
William.

by their sentiment, like the sound of a trumpet, against France.

The portrait of King William is easily drawn, because it consists of three broad lines, simplicity, utility, and just pride of character; three qualities that compose the character of Socrates, which whoever follows, will pass with success and honour through private life. But it is a portrait that should be much more studied, examined, and imitated, by men in public life, and above all by British princes; for in proportion as these last shall imitate King William, in the expansion of his mind to the love of religious toleration, that fairest flower of cultivated humanity*; in his openness and sincerity to his subjects in public and in private, his mercy to his enemies, his temper to his opposers, and the warmth, steadiness, and even partiality of his private friendships; in his fortitude against misfortune, moderation during prosperity, and readiness to take advantage of accident, and yet to give way to it; in his application to public business, without pretending singly to direct what can be done with difficulty, even by numbers; in his yielding to parties in a country full of party, in order to recover them, instead of combating, and thereby losing them for ever; in his scorning to court popularity by his manners, when conscious that he could make it follow him by his actions; in his employing men of talents in his service wherever he could find them, even when he liked neither their persons nor their principles†; and even in his

* In the dispute in Scotland at the revolution, whether episcopacy or presbytery should be established, King William's instruction to the Duke of Hamilton, his commissioner to parliament, was, Let my good people of Scotland have whatever form of church government they like best.

† It is easy for princes, in easy situations, sometimes to employ men in their service, whom they do not like, because such princes can receive little disturbance from them. But I know only four instances in history of princes, in uneasy situations, who made use of the talents, indiscriminately,

his love of hunting, wine, and good fellowship with his select friends, they will be glorious and happy. And, on the other hand, in proportion as they shall imitate the crooked politics of the first and third prince, or the violent politics of the second and fourth prince of the Stuart race, or the selfish and unfeeling indifference too common to those who are elevated above the rest of human kind, their reigns will be inglorious to them, and to their people unhappy.

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There was one, and only one blemish in the political character of King William. He never felt sufficiently that the true grandeur of a prince, who was both Stadtholder of Holland, and King of England, depended upon his acquiring and making use of the empire of the ocean. He confessed, that he did not understand sea affairs; and his actions and correspondence prove, that his mind was intent on very different objects. In his reign was first introduced the practice of making the admiralty a nursery for young, and an asylum for old politicians, instead of a board of efficient men in sea business; a business which requires as much variety of knowledge, and as much application to obtain it, as any profession whatever. In consequence of this radical error, his ships were not fully manned, nor fully

Fault in his
conduct of
the war.

of friends real or pretended, of foes political or personal, and of men professional or of no profession, who would and could do the business they were put to. Cyrus the younger (of whom it is to be wished more was known), Julius Cæsar, Henry IV. of France, and King William. Henry IV. gave the care of the finances of France to Sully, though he was a soldier; and King William the care of the civil affairs of Scotland to Lord Portland, and of Ireland first to Lord Galway, and afterwards to Lord Athlone, though they were strangers as well as soldiers; but, for the best of all reasons, because they were men of sense, and had no partialities or prejudices, or interests in the countries committed to their charge. Cromwell, who, amidst all the irregularities of his mind, retained the generosity of his original situation, that of an English country gentleman, pursued this exalted policy. But the mortal hatred of his enemies put it out of his power to fulfil his intentions.

victualled,

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viſtalled, nor were the repairs thoroughly executed. From a view, wiſe in the intention, but dangerous in the execution, of making war ſubſervient to the intereſt of manufacture, the ſails were made of home canvas, which being at that time a new manufacture in England, was inferior to the foreign. No care was taken to ſupply the ſeamen with freſh proviſions, even in the channel, and the quality of their ſalt proviſions was often bad, and their ſurgeons were unſkilful: Hence the Engliſh fleets were obliged to be attended by three, four, or more hoſpital ſhips, when the Dutch had not one. The ſeamen were mal-treated by their officers; the conſequence of which was, that no volunteers were to be got, and the preſſed men deſerted whenever they could. Six regiments of marines were raiſed, but theſe ſoon dwindled into fix marching regiments. The fleets were not attended by cruizing frigates to bring them intelligence. In the firſt years of the war the ſhips were never ready ſoon enough in the ſpring: And in the laſt years of it great fleets of great ſhips were ſent to ſea, when it might have been known that the French ſhips of the ſame force were not in a capacity to leave their harbours; by which the great ſhips were expoſed to needleſs damage and danger, and the operations of ſmaller ſquadrons and ſhips ſuſpended. But above all, neither the ſeamen, or officers, or even the pilots, were ſufficiently acquainted with the coaſts, the ſoundings, the tides, the paſſages, the rivers, and the harbours of the enemy. Of all theſe things there is evidence, which if not official, is very nearly ſo, becauſe they are aſſerted by Mr. Burchet, ſecretary to the Admiralty, in his Memoirs, and the preface to them.

Reflections.

Had theſe evils been remedied in England: Had the Engliſh and Dutch increaſed their navies inſtead of their armies: And had they, in any one of the three laſt

years of the war, laid out a million of money in paying 50,000 foreign troops, conveyed them in the navies and merchantmen of England and Holland, to lay a regular siege to Brest, or rather to go up the banks of the Seine through Normandy to Paris, while the fleets that brought them were sent to harass the sea coasts of France from Bayonne to Dunkirk, one of two consequences must have followed: Either peace would have been made at the gates of Paris, or the French have withdrawn their troops from Spain, Italy, Germany, and Flanders, which would have enabled one part of the allies to enter France on the one side, and another to fall down the Rhine to be put on shipboard with Dutch and English troops, to feed the war in the heart, and on the coasts of France on the other side; and, in both cases, the French must have laid their country waste, to starve the invading army. The ancient Normans kept France in continual alarms by such incursions; and it is in the power of their German posterity to do so again, whenever England and Holland shall unite, and as long as they shall keep the command of the sea. The very same possibility will open itself to France against England, whenever the French shall obtain a superiority at sea, with this advantage on their side, that a French fleet blocking up the communication between the Newcastle collieries and London, would oblige England to send a herald to France to sue for peace. Against these dangers England has only five resources; but they are great ones: The first is a general militia, upon the plan of that of Switzerland, but improved by adding artillery, and still more by adding cavalry to it; for though ridicule may attend the observation, yet truth attends it too, that if the post horses and hunting horses of England were accustomed to stand fire, they could cut off the provisions, and harass the armies of one half
of

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of France, though landed safely in England. The second, that the infantry of the army, guards and all, like that of Athens and Carthage, should be obliged in their turns to do the duty of marines. The third, that, in a sea war, England should conduct her foreign trade chiefly in neutral bottoms, and employ the whole strength of her shipping and seamen to destroy the trade and seize the settlements of her enemies, and protect her own; so as to form a militia by sea as well as by land; a militia which maintains itself, when a land militia is obliged to be maintained by the public: For which purpose rewards, naval honours, and protection from pressing, should be bestowed on privateers, to animate naval strength in every nerve of the nation, and to turn even the merchants into monarchs. The fourth, that every power of the mind of private and public persons should be employed to extend the foreign trade and the fisheries of the nation. And the last, to obtain an incorporated union with Ireland, in order to double the importance of both countries; and a federal union with America, in order to secure that union of force, on which the strength of nations depends; by which a thousand mischiefs will be prevented, which, without that antidote, lie in the womb of time, big with destruction to England, and to America also. In No. VII. of the Appendix, at the end of this volume, I shall examine the practicability of bringing about these two unions.

It is said by some that history ought to relate events, but not to make observations upon them, because Thucydides followed, in some degree, that rule, and Lucian prescribes it. But Polybius, Tacitus, Davila, thought otherwise. At a time when the French King is lessening his army, contracting the royal expences, bestowing the savings of both upon the increase of his navy, has just robbed England of thirteen provinces, and has plunged her

her into an hundred millions of debt; and, above all, at a time when the people of France are making strides to obtain that liberty, which, by the security it confers upon the property, the person, and the honour of the citizen, has been the great source of the elevation of England above all other nations; perhaps the above digression may be excused. To me it appears, that, to write history, without drawing moral or political rules of conduct from it, is little better than writing a romance.

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P A R T IV.

B O O K I.

FIRST Steps of the new Reign.—State of Alliances in Europe.—State of the Queen at Home.—Relative State of the English and French Nations.—State of English Ministry.—State of French Ministry.—State of the French Army.—State of French Alliances, and of the Cevennes.—Combination of Circumstances with personal Character.—The French King's Plan of War.—State of Scotland.—Dispute concerning the Plan of the War on the Part of England.—Campaign on the Continent.

A. D. 1702.

THE public, which was more just to King William after his death than it had been during his life, as often happens to the great and good, when their superiority can no longer create envy, watched the first moves of his successor's reign with a jealous curiosity, to discover whether her former differences with him left any traces of resentment against his memory. And, therefore, when Queen Anne, in her first speech to the two houses, said, That her heart was *truly English*, and they

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should always find her *a strict and religious observer of her word*; and when the house of commons some time after, in an address of compliment, the words of which are always contrived to be agreeable to the private sentiments of a court, said, that the success of the first year of the war had *retrieved* the honour of the English name in war; all these expressions were ill received by the public, because it was thought that the first alluded to the late king's partiality to foreigners; the next to his grants of the Irish forfeitures, after it was pretended that he had promised to parliament not to make them; and the last, to the success of his wars being tarnished with the frequency of his defeats. But these traces of resentment were soon overlooked, as the first sallies of pique in a woman, when, impelled by the ambition of Lord Marlborough, she was seen to follow exactly the footsteps which her predecessor had marked out for her, confirmed his alliances, declared war against France in two months after his death, and gave 100,000*l.* for the service of the war, out of the revenue which parliament had assigned to herself, although it was not larger than that of King William; and when the national vanity was flattered by a compliment which the Dutch, the Germans, and the Emperor, well knew to pay to the passions of the Queen, and of her favourite the Earl of Marlborough, when they appointed him, who was an Englishman, and had never commanded above 3000 men, to be general of the allied army, over the heads of all their own, their old, and their famed generals.

State of alliances in Europe.

The interval between the death of Charles II. of Spain, and of King William, had been spent in negotiations and intrigues in every court of Europe, great and little, to support or oppose the elevation of the house of Bourbon. When the result of all these was known within a year after William's death, it appeared that Spain, the Indies, the

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the Spanish Netherlands, the Milanese, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Duke of Savoy, whose daughter the young King of Spain married to attach him to his cause, the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, and the Duke of Wolfenbottle, were taken out of the scale of the allies in the first grand alliance, and thrown into that of France in the second : That Portugal, which had formerly been neutral, was now on the side of the house of Bourbon : That although the Swedes were not in the scale of the house of Bourbon, they were taken out of that of the allies, because Sweden was not obliged to hire troops to them unless she herself enjoyed peace, which she never did during the course of the war : That the weight of the Turks was, by a peace, taken off the Emperor, but a much more troublesome enemy was preparing to be put in their place, by insurrections of his discontented subjects in Hungary. And, therefore, at first sight, it appeared to the world that the allies were overbalanced in the war.

But the new sovereign of England possessed advantages at home to which her predecessor had been a stranger. Her brother could not be played against her by France, as her father had been against King William, because he was only thirteen years of age. His friends submitted to her, because she had long kept a private connection with them and her father's family, would have been entitled to be regent during her brother's minority, if she had not assumed the crown, and therefore appeared in their eyes the proper person to hold the reins of government, while he was unable to do so ; and being childless herself, he could have no competitor in her heart, for her succession at least. Her religious sentiments in favour of the Church of England from her infancy to her grave ; sentiments, in the sincerity and steadiness of which people put much confidence when they engross a female

State of the
Queen at
home.

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breast, attached the church party to her, and consequently that tory party which was connected with it. The confidence which she put in Lord Godolphin, who had contrived to get the confidence of the whigs, by pressing for that war with France, when he saw it was to be commanded by his connection, the Earl of Marlborough, which in the late reign he had, along with the tory party, opposed, and even lost his place in the treasury for opposing, added to the firmness of her resolution to support the late King's alliances against France, seemed to make her secure against the natural propensity of the whig party to opposition. But above all, the dexterous game, which, though a dangerous and unroyal one, King William had been obliged, by the selfishness of his subjects, to play between the two great parties of the nation, in which he turned whigs into tories, by giving them places and honours, and tories into whigs, by taking them back again, had weakened the distinction between both, and put it out of the power of zealots on either side to assume pretences to high principles of party, which the public believed to be insincere on all sides. Hence Lord Godolphin and Lord Marlborough, who were wise and moderate men, found it easy to form a great party in the nation as well as in parliament, consisting of moderate whigs and moderate tories, who met each other half way on principles, and the whole way on the measures which the Queen should pursue in foreign politics. Even the distinction between whig and tory might, perhaps, have worn away altogether in this reign, if the weakness of Queen Anne had not afterwards raised up, for her own and her people's vexation, a new distinction, that of high church and low church, in its place. But the surest of all proofs of the concessions which parties made to each other, appeared when the whigs gave way to the tories vindication of themselves from the imputation

tion of their aversion to the war at the end of the late reign; for they concurred in an address, probably contrived by Lord Godolphin to justify himself, which boasted that the unanimity of the satisfaction of the house "vindicated the gentlemen of England who had, " by the vile pretences of designing men, been traduced, " and industriously represented as false to her Majesty's " allies, because they were true to the interests of their " country :"—An apology from the tories, which was the more readily received by the Queen, because they seemed to have yielded to her what they had refused to her predecessor. And thus both whigs and tories vied with each other, as generally happens on a new reign, which of them should please the new sovereign the most and the soonest.

The nation too was in more fortunate circumstances than it had been during the preceding war. France, in the course of that war, had, upon the calculations stated in a former part of these Memoirs, lost near 350 millions sterling, and 400,000 men, to which number ought to be added 50,000 more, out of one half the French army, which, from a very unwise parsimony, had been disbanded on the confines of France, as soon as brought home at the peace from the different theatres of the war; and who, having no money to carry them forward, either enlisted in the neighbouring services, or settled in the neighbouring countries, by which they were lost to France, and gained mostly to the enemies of France*. But England had spent only 60 millions sterling: And as her native troops and seamen were about 80,000, whereas those of France were near half a million, she had not lost a sixth part of the men that France had. The fleet of England was increased, while that of France

State of the
English and
French na-
tion.

* Fouquier.

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was diminished. The merchant shipping and the traffic of England were become double of what they had been at the peace of Ryswick *. But above all, the operations Mr. Montague, on public paper-credit, had opened the eyes of the nation to the greatness of its own resources, at a time when it did not owe above ten millions of debt, and when Lewis XIV. by the number of his wars, and the vanity and bad taste (which last is always expensive) of most of his buildings, and all his gardens, for near half a century, was staggering under an immense debt which left him no resources, but in submitting to arts much beneath him to get money, and in the oppression and defrauding of his people. For the meanest offices were sold by government; for example, those of dividing and bundling up the hay for the use of the people of Paris †: And the salaries of higher offices, even of the King's secretaries, were augmented, in consideration of money advances by those who held them ‡: The plate was called in §: And the French government at one time raised the value of the coin ||, in order to make it go farther in public payments; and at another time sunk it, in order to force it into the mint, upon the promise of a recoinage at the standard value: But when the money was got there, a pretence was used that the engines for coining were not quite ready, and a return was made, not in new coin, but in billets of state; a contrivance intended to gain, at the best, only a temporary relief, at the expence of a lasting disgrace; but which was attended with a much worse effect, for it put an instant stop to credit, both public and private ¶. The consequences of these things were, that Lewis paid an interest from twelve

* Vide Mr. Chalmer's estimate, which contains an exact and complete pattern for forming a barometer of the state of a great maritime nation.

† Gazette, October 13, 1701.
Ditto, September 15.

‡ Ditto.
¶ Ditto,

§ Ditto, May 29.

to fifteen *per cent.* for the little money he could procure in loans; and the billets of the treasury passed in the spring of the year 1701, at a discount of ten, and in August, of fifty *per cent* *: But the surest of all evidences of the distresses of the French monarchy for money are the three following facts: That in the year 1701, Lewis raised money by turning many offices of honour, which were for life, or under reversion to the crown, into offices of inheritance †: In the year 1696, he sold five hundred letters of nobility: And from the beginning of the war of the second grand alliance, the crosses of St. Lewis, which, because they were, like the military crowns of the Romans, the rewards of military virtue, had thrown a spirit of emulation through the French armies, were publicly sold in public offices ‡. In a country in which, at that time, family honours and military honours were every thing, and money nothing in comparison of either, these are the last subjects which government would sell. From all those circumstances it was obvious that William often defeated, never subdued, inventive of resources, patient and persevering, had given a shake to the victorious and glittering Lewis on his throne, which could not fail to be felt by him in the next war he was to wage.

But above all, the servants of the sovereign of England were more fortunate in their situations than those of Lewis XIV. Lord and Lady Marlborough possessed the absolute dominion of the spirit of a mistress, which being weak, naturally relied on that of others, and fond, relied on those whom she loved. Her husband, the prince of Denmark, equally passive in his character, was at the head of the admiralty, Lord Marlborough at the head of the army, Lord Godolphin, whose son was married to

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English mi-
nistry.

* Gazette, May 5, August 28, and September 15.

† Ditto, August 28.

‡ Fouquier,

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one of his daughters, at the head of the treasury, and Lord Sunderland, whose son was married to another of them, secretary of state; Lady Marlborough was grooms of the stole to the Queen, and therefore nearest and continually so to her person; Lord Marlborough himself was a man of great beauty, talents for war and negotiation, and rendered popular in the nation, and even in parliament, by the frowns of a court in the late reign: So that he was master of the navy, the army, the treasury, the state, the palace, the parliament, and the people; and as his plans of war and negotiation, because he was both general and minister, were not dictated by others, and the supplies for executing them were furnished in a manner from his own house, he was completely master of both, without being embarrassed by the indolence, passions, or interests of others.

State of the
French mi-
nistery.

Whereas in France the ministers and generals were disunited by their separate interests, and by court intrigues. Lewis XIV. grown self-sufficient by success, instead of leaving the conduct of campaigns to his generals in the field, issued orders to them from his cabinet councils at Versailles: And in that cabinet Madam Maintenon, in whose apartment, to save the King the trouble of going elsewhere, his councils were generally held, often directed those measures, to which she pretended she was scarcely listening: A woman, perhaps the most amiable and respectable in his kingdom, but who must have had as extraordinary a fortune in her politics as in her marriage, if she had added a third example to the only two known in the history of the world, those of Zenobia and Queen Elizabeth, of women who had all the natural abilities, acquired talents, and courage of men to rule great kingdoms: In consequence of these new councils of war, the generals were sometimes chosen according as their reli-
gious

ligious principles and practices agreed with those of
 Madam Maintenon; who was very devout, rather than
 according to the military powers of their minds.

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Add to this, that Lewis had outlived his great generals and ministers. Condé, Turenne and Luxemburgh were no more; and the public saw none who could fill their places, because the superiority of their talents had damped, as great superiority often does, the talents of others. Colbert, who, by his industrious and sagacious genius, had found treasures in the resources of trade and manufacture, to support his master's wars; Louvois, who, in the vigilance, sublimity, and universality of his genius, had found for him magazines of arms and provisions every where, plans of offence and defence in war, fortifications, troops, and discipline to make those troops useful, were no more. Barbescieux succeeded, but unequally, to Louvois; vainly thinking that it is the mark of a man of genius, to be a man of pleasure, because Alcibiades was so; but forgetting that Barbescieux was not Alcibiades. To him succeeded Chamillard, raised by Madam Maintenon, to conduct the state, because he had conducted well the affairs of her convent of St. Cyr, and who rashly ventured to fill, alone, the two great departments of minister of finance and of war, which Colbert and Louvois had often confessed they could with difficulty find time to execute separately.

But the chief fatality which threatened Lewis, in entering into a new war, was that the discipline of his armies, that discipline to which the soldiers and commanders of Sparta, Rome, and the late King of Prussia, owed their victories, which had been introduced by Louvois, died with him. In consequence of this dissolution, Monsieur Feuquières relates, that high ranks were given to many, only in order to throw lustre on the general under

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 French army

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whom they were to serve; and these again, in consequence of their promotions, were entitled, on other occasions, to insist for commands for which they were not qualified; that regiments were given to boys of family, to command veteran officers of character; that the battalions were fallen from seven hundred to five hundred men, and the squadrons in proportion, and their officers pocketed the difference of the pay; and that even of these weak battalions and squadrons, the officers allowed many of their men to go to their homes, on giving their pay in return for the indulgence. Hence the generals were deceived in the number of troops they commanded: The consequence of which could not fail to be, that in the day of action they either could not cover the ground with the numbers they intended; or if they did cover it, they were obliged either to lessen the number of their ranks, or to increase the distance of the men in them. The arms were often ill tempered, the clothing cold, the magazines late and ill supplied, from the connection between contractors and the public offices; the troops ill paid; and neither officers nor soldiers, from the colonel to the drummer, were kept to their duty.

State of
French alli-
ances, and
of the Ce-
vennes.

To those who looked forward to futurity, it appeared that the allies of Lewis, so numerous at present, would soon prove the source of mischief to him: For what chance was there, that Portugal would continue to aggrandize Spain, her ancient oppressor; or the duke of Savoy France, to endanger himself; or the Duke of Wolfenbottle long withstand enemies by whom he was every where surrounded? It was known to some, that in the mountains of the Cevennes, there was a secret fire of enthusiasm among the protestants, which the hands of England and Holland, if skilfully directed, might draw forth to the most mischievous explosions.

But

But by those who combined the presumptive effects of personal character, with those which follow from the state of actual circumstances, it was observed, that an exhausted kingdom, a king stricken into age, a pious wife settling sometimes the disputes of divines, and sometimes of statesmen; a stripling grandson on the tottering throne of Spain; armies without discipline, allies whose interest it was to break their alliance, and a country which contained the seeds of religious discord within itself, were opposed to the genius of Lord Marlborough and Prince Eugene; to the public credit of England, which could turn paper into gold, at a time when France was playing tricks with her coin to deceive her people; to the wisdom of Holland, and of Fagel and Heinsus, the friends, scholars, and imitators of King William in simplicity and utility of character; to the ambitious and able Emperor Leopold; to the Electors of Brandenburg and Hanover, impelled to support that cause, to which the one owed the title of King, and the other that of Elector, and hoped to owe that of King also; and to the vast numbers, the valour, order, and obstinacy of the troops of most of the Germanic body.

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Combina-
tion with
personal
character.

Those who reasoned thus, reasoned well; for, in such a situation, had King William lived a few years longer, he had probably gained all the glories which the Duke of Marlborough did, and passed to posterity as the greatest general and politician that ever lived.

The French King's own consciousness of these weaknesses appeared in his preparations for the new war. He had made the war of the first grand alliance an offensive one, and for that reason sent six armies into the dominions of his enemies and into the field. But he obviously began the war of the second grand alliance upon a defensive plan. He did not send above 10,000 men into Spain, under pretence that it was too far off to be attacked

The French
King's plan
of war.

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attacked by its enemies. Instead of opposing the entry of the Germans into Italy through the Trentine; which he could easily have done, by taking possession of a trifling part of the Venetian territories, he placed garrisons in the Milanese, and ordered Mareschal Catinat to remain with a small French army between the Adige and the Po, against the army of the Emperor, in order to draw that Prince's troops to a greater distance from the side of France; but assigned as his reason, that in that quarter he knew Catinat's army would be supported by the Spanish and Italian troops of the King of Spain. He sent only 25,000 men into Bavaria, to join the Elector; because he said he knew well that the Elector's situation on the Danube gave him sufficient power to torment the Emperor in the heart of his own dominions, without the aid of France; and he filled the strong places on the side of the Rhine, and of the Netherlands, with great garrisons, sending armies there rather to protect those towns, than to fight his enemies in the field; reflecting, that in nine years of the last war, when he possessed only a part of the towns of the Netherlands, he had lost almost none of them; and that now, when he possessed the whole, he could protract a war of sieges as long as he pleased. Unfortunately for England, she perceived not his plan, and instead of making a war upon France through France, or upon Spain and France, by ruining the trade and the harbours and the colonies of both; she prepared to encounter her enemy in that very war of sieges in the Netherlands which that enemy wished for.

State of
Scotland.

In Scotland alone the Queen was embarrassed in her government. The supplies granted in the late reign being temporary, were expired; so that there was no money in the treasury to support either the civil government or the army; and the passions of the high
and

and low alike against England and English councils, on account of the sufferings of the Darien company, fluctuated from rage to fullness, and from fullness to rage. In this situation a regular state of a country party, similar to the country parties of England, started up: An appearance new in Scotland, except for a year or two after the revolution, the only parties known there for five reigns having been those of popery or reformation, of presbytery or episcopacy, of loyalist or rebel: But it was more formidable than the common country parties in England, because it comprehended almost the whole nation. These discontents gave advantage too for another party, hostile to government, to increase in numbers, and in the open declaration of their sentiments; the friends of the exiled family, who exclaimed that the wrongs which had been done to royalty in Scotland, had with vengeance been by heaven repaid. In order to settle all those ferment the Queen, instead of imitating the open and simple manner and conduct of her predecessor, made use of the meanest and least efficient of all the arts of government, the art of deceit: For, by her ministers both in England and Scotland, she gave the most solemn assurances that she was sincerely in the interest of her brother, and would, in due time, do justice to it. In testimony of her sincerity she promised, and soon after published in Scotland, a pardon for all treasonable practices, and took measures to replace the episcopal clergy in the churches, 350 of whom had been ejected soon after the revolution, because they would not take the oaths to the new government, and all of whom were consequently inimical to the cause which hurt them. She filled many places of honour and profit with the avowed partizans of her father, and gave a promise, which she soon after performed, to remove a ministry, composed of men who had never once, even

PART IV. in thought, swerved from the cause of the new govern-
 BOOK I. ment, such as the Lords Marchmont, Melvil, Selkirk,
 1702- Leven, and Hyndford.

But these arts could not deceive Fletcher of Salton, to whose opinions his countrymen looked up, because they knew he had no object but his country, and who said, that most kings were bad, but a woman king was the worst; nor the Duke of Hamilton (formerly Earl of Arran) who had placed himself at the head both of the country party and of the Jacobites, and who, to great power of intrigue, joined all the flaming personal courage of his ancestors, the Douglas's, in whose family, by a singularity unparalleled in history, ten heroes succeeded to each other. Fletcher contrived, and presented to the Queen's ministers, his act of security (afterwards so famous), to make Scotland independent for ever of England and English counsellors. The Duke of Hamilton insisted, that a new parliament should be assembled, instead of one which he complained had been chosen in the popular whig ferment of the revolution, had sat thirteen years contrary to all former precedent, and to the ancient constitution of Scotland, according to which parliaments were annual, was by law dissolved by the death of the sovereign*, and which never had been legal, because a convention could not be converted into a parliament. And to his proposal the duke added, that, on this account, all its acts should be declared null, and the government vested in the Queen, by a new act; his secret view in which was to void the forfeiture of her brother: And then concealing one part of his plan

* In the year 1696 an act had passed, empowering the parliament in being at the King's death to continue six months after, in order to secure the protestant religion, the succession to the crown, and the peace of the kingdom. But the Duke of Hamilton contended that these ends having been attained by the Queen's accession, the parliament was dissolved even under the terms of the act.

from

from the country party, while he disclosed another; he proposed to them that Fletcher's act of security should be made the condition of the new settlement. But these proposals being rejected by the Queen's ministers, because they thought them both too bold and too refined, the duke on the first day of the meeting of parliament, which sat both peers and commons in one hall, appeared in his place, when all paying the respect to his rank of preserving silence till he spoke, he rose and made a formal protest, delivered with a slow determined voice and high air, against the meeting as illegal, and immediately left the house, attended by eighty peers and commons; who were the greatest number in the house, and of the best families, estates and characters in the nation. They marched in a body with a solemn pace, and in the ranks of parliament, with the Duke of Hamilton at their head, first prince of the blood, by act of parliament next heir to the crown after the descendants of James VI. and beautiful and graceful above them all, amidst the shouts of an innumerable multitude, from the parliament-house to a tavern in the middle of the city, where they dined together, to knit the public by the ties of private union. The dean and faculty of advocates, in a public act, declared the protest and the conduct of the seceding members to be according to the constitution and to law. The commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, however, continued the session of parliament, which declared it high treason to call the Queen's title, or the validity of the present parliament in question, granted a supply to maintain the army, and reprimanded the dean and faculty of advocates for the opinion they had given.

But these measures settled not the humours of men. The Earl of Marchmont, whose forfeiture for his accession to the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion had been repealed in the present parliament, terrified by the ad-

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vances of the court to the Jacobite party, and by the idea of even pointing at making the acts of a parliament void on which his all depended, made a motion to settle the crown, in the event of the failure of the Queen and her issue, upon the family of Hanover. No one seconded him: It was received with a general hiss; and a motion even followed to commit him prisoner to the castle, for proposing to settle the crown on the same head that was to wear the crown of England, before the independence of Scotland upon England was settled. And the people, who are always ready to grasp at pretences for not paying taxes, refused to pay the supplies, under the excuse that they were imposed by an illegal power: In consequence of which little of the tax was levied, and that little almost only by the violence of imprisonment and free quarters. Uncertain what to do, the Queen ordered the parliament to be prorogued, and proceeded to the war, without one of the best arms of war, recruits and regiments as numerous as she pleased, from a country which made part of the same island, obeyed the same sovereign, had the same interest with England, and whose inhabitants regarded war as an employment for profit, and as a pastime, because they loved it.

Disputes
about the
mode of
carrying on
the war.

In the mean time a dispute had arisen in the cabinet of England, concerning the mode of conducting the war. Lord Rochester pressed for a war by sea, to be directed against the trade and settlements of France and Spain, and that only a small force should be sent to protect the Dutch in the Netherlands, until it should appear that a greater was necessary. Lord Marlborough, on the other hand, because he was to command the allied army there, which was to consist almost totally of English and Dutch, insisted that the great exertions of England should be made by land, and in the Netherlands. The Queen, distracted by the respect which she owed to her
uncle's

Uncle's opinions, and her partiality to those of her favourite and his wife, following the course of all weak minds, hoped to please both parties, by sending a large army into the Netherlands, and a fleet, with a strong body of troops, to take Cadiz. But the compromise pleased not Lord Rochester, who said, "That it was a plan to have two land wars instead of one; that the capture of Cadiz was no attack upon the trade or settlements of France or Spain, and might serve the Emperor's family, but not the Queen of England." In a disgust he threw up his government of Ireland, retired from business, and left Lord Marlborough and his friends to lavish the treasures and blood of England in a continental war, as they pleased.

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The war had begun the former summer in Italy, Campaign where Prince Eugene had taken Cremona in the night-time, by the stratagem of a priest opening a secret passage into the town, and lost it next morning, by the accident of an officer's exercising his troops early, which he brought to the relief of the town. By a singular fatality of war Marechal Villeroy, the commander in chief, was the almost only person of his army who was made prisoner. In the campaign of the present year Lord Marlborough, at the head of the allied army of 60,000 troops, took with rapidity Stephenswaert, Venloo, Ruremond, and Leige on the Maese, by which the allies gained the command of the country between the Maese and the Scheldt. The Germans higher up took Keyservert and Landau, which connected the armies on the Maese and the Rhine: And in consequence of these two advantages a way was opened for the allies to turn the war into the Netherlands, or France, or Germany, as they pleased. During these successes the French army hovered round the allies, making attempts, and instantly withdrawing them, even although the Duke of Burgundy was for some time at its head, because it was tied

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down by the defensive plan which Lewis had resolved on. Treves and Traerbach were, however, taken by the French. One great battle was fought at Luzara, in Italy, and another at Fridlingen in Germany, where both sides claimed the victory, because both were defeated. But the young King of Spain, who was in the first of these battles, gained more than a victory, when he raised his character in the eyes of his Spanish subjects, by a letter which, in his way to the army, he wrote to the Duke de Vendosme, who commanded it, not to fight till he should arrive, adding a gallant compliment, ingeniously expressed, "that his high opinion of the Duke" "was best marked by his fear, lest, in his absence, the" "duke should do too much*."

The rapid successes of Lord Marlborough, however, shewed Europe that France was no longer what she had been, when, instead of losing towns, she took them every where, and instead of avoiding battles, fought for and won them. But as two months were consumed in the siege of Keyservert, and above three in that of Landau, Lewis considered the time lost to his enemies as victories gained by himself, and calculated that, at the rate of two campaigns spent in two drawn battles, one town taken and retaken in Italy, two towns taken by each side in Germany, and four towns of no great strength and less preparation lost in the Netherlands, he and his enemies would grow grey-headed before the Spanish monarchy was wrestled from his grandson: But a plan which to be explained implied disgrace, was not seen by his allies. These losses however, which appeared greater because they were new, detached the Duke of Wolfenbuttle from his alliance, and made the Duke of Savoy meditate a defection in private, which he soon after made public.

* Lamberti, vol. ii. p. 206.

B O O K II.

DISGRACE of the Fleet in the West Indies.—Fate of Admiral Bembow and his Officers.—Preparations for the Expedition to Cadiz.—Description of Cadiz and its Bays.—Five Circumstances relating to them.—The Expedition disappointed, and Causes of it.—Disorders at St. Mary's.—Description of Vigo and its Bays.—Great Success in the Bay of Vigo, and Causes of it.—Reflections.

Anno 1702.

AS the two most useful, and perhaps sublime powers of the human mind, next to high sentiment, are invention and foresight, so, endued with these, the late King, though involved in difficulties from his earliest youth to his grave, extricated himself from them all. In consequence of the habit of exerting those powers, he had made preparations for the new war, even before his last parliament had encouraged him to undertake it: And it was owing to this preparation that his successor began the war with so much ease, and so little appearance of effort, as to astonish Europe. Foreseeing the dangers to which the West Indies would be exposed from the vicinity and the junction of the French and Spanish powers in those regions, he had, in the last stage of his life, sent a fleet of ten ships of the line to protect them, under Admiral Bembow.

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But

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But it is a true observation, that the exertions of service are exactly in proportion to the vigilance of the sovereign or his ministers over them. Queen Elizabeth had been vigilant to every department of the state; in consequence of which she was well served in every one of them. James the First, amidst his scholarcraft and his kingcraft, neglected both the sea and land service of his kingdom; the consequence was, that both fell into disgrace in the eyes of Europe. His successor, obliged by necessity to raise and to lead troops, recovered the reputation of the English arms by land; but the same necessity disabled him to attend to the sea service, and it scarcely had a name in his reign. Cromwell, more fortunate in situation, succeeded to the command of armies in good order; and then extended his care and attention to the fleet, by which he shook Europe with the terror of English arms by land and by sea. Charles the Second, who had a natural genius for naval affairs, and therefore attended to them, enabled the navy of England to defy the fleets of Holland, France, and part of the North, joined against him. James the Second, in his short reign, attended to both services for the benefit of one who he little thought was to reap it. But King William, by his predilection for the land service more than the other, had weakened the spirit of that other. Of this he felt the effects, when, offering the command of the West India fleet to different officers, they had excused themselves under different pretences, to avoid the danger of the climate and of the service. It is a story current among the seamen, that the King, who like other Dutchmen did not dislike a pun, said, "Well, since these beaux will not go, I must apply to "honest Bembow;" and that when he was making an apology to that admiral for desiring him to return to the West India station, from which he had lately come,

Bembow

Bembow interrupted him with an answer, which imported, that he did not understand apologies to an officer, whose part it was to obey, as it was the King's to command. The same effects, either of effeminacy of spirit, or of disorder in service, or rather perhaps of both (for the two go commonly together) in the officers of the navy, appeared in the first sea action of the new war: For, Bembow having received intelligence that the French fleet was in the seas in which King William had expected it would be, went in quest of it, and on the 19th of August found it on the coast of St. Martha, commanded by Du Cassé in a noble seventy-four gun ship, but the rest of the force was inferior to the English. Bembow hung out the signal of battle, and engaged: But three of his captains, Kirkby, Wade, and Constable, fell astern, under the same excuse which in West India seas, where calms and breezes are instantaneous in succession, and partial in the space that they occupy, every officer may find at hand for not fighting; the excuse, that a sudden calm prevented them from coming up. The French, however, fled. Next day Bembow overtook them, and renewed the engagement; but the ship of Capt. Walton, afterwards so famous for his laconic account of the destruction of the Spanish fleet off Syracuse, was disabled, and he was sent off to Jamaica to refit. Notwithstanding this loss, Bembow continued the pursuit and the engagement the same day and the next, but without success, because his three captains still kept their distance. On the fourth day it was observed that the French admiral's ship was disabled, and Bembow boarded her three times. The rest of the English fleet then came up and attacked her; but the three captains finding more resistance than they expected, again retired; and the rest of the French fleet coming to their admiral's assistance, he was saved. In this

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this last action Bembow's leg was shattered with a ball: He was carried below fainting, and his leg cut off; but he gave orders for the couch on which he lay to be carried to the quarter deck, and seeing the three captains not in action, fired on them to bring them into it: But they still not advancing, he ordered all his captains on board, who advised him not to engage any more; and Kirkby persuaded Capt. Fag, the admiral's captain, and Capt. Vincent, to sign a paper with him, that they would not continue the engagement a fifth time; the consequence of which was, that the French fleet escaped.—One of Bembow's friends lamenting the loss of his leg, "I would rather have lost them both (said he) than seen the disgrace of this day."

Bembow brought several of his captains to a court martial in Jamaica, of which he refused to be president, because he said he was conscious he could not be an impartial judge. Kirkby and Wade were condemned to be shot: Constable escaped the same sentence, by a premature death: But Fag and Vincent were only suspended, because Bembow, in his evidence, generously declared that they had behaved gallantly in the engagements, and that he imputed their signing Kirkby's paper to a belief that success among cowards was impossible. Bembow soon after died of his wounds, applauding the valour of the French, and lamenting the want of it in his own countrymen. The only proper punishment for cowards is death, because they fear it more than shame; and therefore Kirkby and Wade were shot as soon as they came on the coast of England. Their relations, who were of good families, observed, that as their courage had been hitherto unimpeached, their fault had arisen from a desire to pull down the character of a commander, who being of a rough temper, had treated them with roughness; an excuse more dangerous to service than cowardice itself.

In the mean time the confederate fleet of England and Holland had left the coast of England on the 29th of July, and arrived before Cadiz on the 12th of August: The greatest armament that ever sailed along the western coast of Europe; for, it consisted of fifty English and Dutch line of battle ships, thirty-eight frigates, twenty ordnance ships, with a number of other vessels of war*, and carried fourteen thousand English and Dutch land forces, which were commanded by the Duke of Ormonde. The fleet was commanded by Sir George Rooke, upon whom, in order to give him greater state, the commission of vice admiral was conferred, and no higher could be conferred, because the Queen's husband bore the title of lord admiral. Then appeared a second time, within the compass of two years, the importance of the command of the sea to England; for, at the sight of so vast an armament sailing along the coast of Portugal, the King took measures to detach himself from the alliance of France and Spain, under the excuse that they had promised that protection to his capital, which it was visible they were not able to give. It was singular in the fortune of Rooke, the son of a country gentleman in England, to be the same admiral who made one sovereign in the north, and another in the south, bend to the flag of England, when they beheld it waving over the capitals of Denmark and Portugal. But the greatness of the preparations (unlike to those of King William against Denmark, all of whose plans of war had order and proportion in them) contributed to hurt the expedition against Cadiz: For, the bay of Cadiz was not capable of containing the whole of the armament; and part of it was obliged to lie exposed in the ocean on the south side of Cadiz, where a single stormy night might have

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Preparations for the
expedition
to Cadiz.

* Sir George Rooke's examination.

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weakened the maritime power of England and Holland. The commanders in chief, too, discorded: Rooke, supercilious, as all the seamen of that age were, despising the inexperience of the duke; perhaps too (a thing not unusual among the country gentlemen of England) proud to show that he despised his rank; and the duke, provoked by that air of superiority which the experience of Rooke made him think himself entitled to assume. Rooke had, besides, disapproved from the beginning of the expedition itself*; and perhaps thought, without being sensible himself of the meanness of indulging such a thought, that the credit of his opinion would be called in question if the enterprise should be attended with success.

Description
of Cadiz and
its bays.

The situation of Cadiz and its two bays, which it is of much importance to England to know with minuteness, is attended with the five following circumstances:

First cir-
cumstance.

I. One side of the two bays of Cadiz, both outer and inner, is formed by a narrow neck of land which runs into the western ocean, three miles in length, from a place called the Pillars of Hercules, and in some places not two hundred yards in breadth. At the western extremity of this neck the town of Cadiz stands, well fortified towards the land on the east, and towards the bay on the north, but not towards the ocean on the south; because attacks have been dreaded from the land and from the bay, but not from the ocean, on account of the danger to which shipping lying in an open sea would be exposed. The landing on this neck is possible from the bay in some places, but easy from the ocean in different places, and particularly in the mouth of the river St. Pedro, two miles east of the Pillars of Hercules, because in those places the water is

* Barnett.

Shallow on the shore for the boats to land, deep on the coast for the ships to protect them, and the anchorage safe for both.—The space of ground allotted by nature for the town, which is confined by the sea on three sides, and by the necessary fortifications on the fourth, is so small, that there is no room in the town for the markets, store-houses, magazines of provisions, cellars, and other accessaries of food for man and beast customary in other great cities: And therefore Cadiz receives its food from day to day not within itself, nor from the land around itself, but from the continent, and along the narrow neck of land on which it stands, or from the fisheries in the sea.—Lastly, Placed in a manner in the middle of the ocean, it enjoys no springs of fresh water, but is obliged, when rain water saved in reservoirs fails, to be supplied with water from the port of St. Mary's, on the opposite side of the bay on the north.

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From those various circumstances it follows, that to a lodgment of troops on the neck of land to cut off provisions, and to a fleet stationed in the bay to cut off water in a season of drought, Cadiz must yield without either the one or the other firing a gun; and few troops will be required, because the neck of land is narrow, and one of their flanks will be protected by the bay, and the other by the ocean.

II. From want of space the streets are exceeding narrow: And from the same cause the houses are high, consisting of many stories, and the roofs flat; for people build in the air, who cannot build on the ground, and are obliged to enjoy the open air on the tops of their houses, when they cannot do so in streets, where every passenger jostles with another. Eighty thousand inhabitants in Cadiz are crowded together on a spot which

Second circumstance.

PART IV. would scarcely be occupied by ten thousand any where
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Hence there is no town in Europe more exposed to mischief from a bombardment than Cadiz; for, a heavy bomb falling on the flat roof of a house, would break through several, or bursting in a narrow street filled with people, would destroy multitudes: And the bombardment is safe, because the vessels would keep their station while the weather was good, and retire into the bay when it changed; and the coast on that part of the south of the town from whence bombs could reach it, is deep: It is rocky indeed; but chains instead of cables fixed to the anchors, would prevent the accidents to which ropes are exposed among rocks.

Third circumstance.

III. The outer bay of Cadiz is separated from the inner bay called the Pointal, which serves as a road for the ships when they do not lie in the outer bay, by two points of land, which approach so near as to be about seven hundred yards from each other. On these points there are two forts; one of which on the south is called St. Laurent, the other on the north Matagorda; and near to this last, within the inner bay to the east, there is a small fort on a small island called St. Louis. At the east side of the Pointal stand the Caraccas and docks, which comprehend the magazines and naval stores of Spain, receive the wealth of the West Indies, Spanish main, South Seas, and Philippines, of the Spanish monarchy; and where the royal navy is built and careened. The Caraccas and docks are weakly defended, because Cadiz, and the forts at the narrows between the two bays, are deemed to be its best defenders.—The outer bay is about six miles in length, in a round form; and the inner similar in its form, but inferior both in length and breadth. When a Spanish fleet of war lies in

in the inner bay, the ships lie in a row at the end of each other, from some circumstance in the current, depth, or anchorage, which makes it necessary for them to do so, or perhaps from a desire to make their movements more easy, and less subject to disorder in a bay, in which, because land-locked, the winds must be variable; and for the most part they lie in the same order also in the outer bay, probably for the same reasons. The tide is rapid and full, and rises ten feet high. The mouth of the outer bay lies fair from the ocean, and from the prevailing wind, the western, the force of which is increased by its being confined by the two sides of the bay through which it rushes: And from the mouth of the bay, the passage runs almost in a straight line to the outmost point of the Pointal. So that nothing can stop a fleet in the outer bay till it comes to the forts at the narrow passage. If these are passed, nothing can stop it till it comes to the Caraccas: And with a strong tide, wind, and sea, it will go with extreme velocity from the extremity of the one bay to that of the other.

From hence it follows that a squadron (for only a squadron, not a fleet, is required) of clean English ships, with fire-ships in their train, under pretence of going to Gibraltar, the Mediterranean, or any where else near the same course, might, without danger, destroy a Spanish fleet of far superior number, and force the Caraccas; because such a squadron, advancing in what order it pleased to form, could attack the Spanish ships one by one, and one ship with several; or if these ships tacked, their tacks behoved, in a narrow space, to be short; and in every tack the English seamen would have the advantage, because more expert in working ships than the Spaniards. The same want of room would put it out of the power of the enemies to avoid
the

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the fire-ships: And if they retired into the Pointal, the squadron, by receiving from the forts a single fire, and no more, to each ship, and none at all to some, might follow them, and find still greater advantages in a smaller than in a larger space of action.

But if after all they should miss their blow, the same tide which at the flood had carried them into Cadiz bay, would at the ebb carry them out again, even though the wind was from the west, if it was not very strong: For, in the war before last, Capt. Clements made an attack upon three zebeques lying before St. Mary's, retired with the tide, returned next morning with it, attacked again, and retired with safety; although there was a Spanish fleet in the bay looking on, but which, because the ships were unwieldy, and the seamen on shore, as is commonly the case in all Spanish ports, could not be got ready in time enough to intercept them.

Fourth circumstance.

IV. If an attack should be limited to the ships in the Pointal, and to the Caraccas and docks, there are two circumstances which favour it. The first is, that the distance upon the neck of land between the ocean and the Pointal, is not two hundred yards over, and the passage so flat that at the earthquake of Lisbon the two waters met; and from the side within the Pointal, a large space of the bay is so shallow as to be dry at low water: From whence it follows, that batteries erected on that narrow space, either in the common way of breaking ground, or by using sacks of earth, could reach ships in their passage going out or in from the outer into the inner bay, and by the greater weight of guns which might be landed of any size, could destroy any ships of war that were brought to bear upon them, most of which, from the shallowness of water, could not be ships of size; and it also follows, that boats could be conveyed

conveyed over upon rollers to the Pointal, where, from the protection of their own batteries, and the shallowness of the water, they could be safe, and yet, filled with combustibles, might make their excursions during the night, or even in the day time, to set fire to the shipping, docks, or any other object they could reach. In both cases the batteries on the neck, and the boats in the shallows of the Pointal, might receive protection from the shipping on the south of the neck.—The second circumstance is, that troops landed from the side of the ocean, at the mouth of the river of St. Pedro, which connects with the Caraccas a few miles off, and with the docks, which are near half way between the mouth of the river and the Caraccas, might attack both of them on the land side: And the troops on their march from the mouth of the river to the docks and Caraccas, would have one flank covered by the river, and at the same time protect their small craft, which, in a depth of two to three fathoms, could bring up all military stores and provisions for their use.

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V. To protect Cadiz and its bays, requires a far greater force than Spain has to spare. Even a great force separated in six different places, to wit, the town, the three forts, the Caraccas, and the docks, which could give no aid to each other, would be distracted, and fall victims piecemeal to an enemy, who could direct his whole force to one or two objects alone.

Fifth circumstance.

These circumstances have remained the same for two centuries past, during all which time the fleets of England, with a cruel satire upon their admirals and admiralities, have passed and repassed Cadiz without ever once thinking to take advantage of them. But what was formerly not difficult, is become much easier now, since Mr. Millar's invention and improvements upon the carronade gun, the largest of which, to throw a ball of

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an hundred pounds weight above two miles, does not weigh a twenty-four pounder gun; and the small ones, such as the six pounders, are so light, that one of them with its carriage can be born upon a couple of poles by two men carrying their arms slung at the same time. Thirty or forty of these large carronades placed on the narrow neck of land to the east of Cadiz, would defend it against a host of enemies, and bar all sallies from the town, because the shot, when the guns are charged with cannister, falls in a sheet fourteen hundred feet in length, nearer or further off according to the different gravities of the parts of which it is composed, and therefore would mow down a column of troops, which in that narrow space could advance only in columns. The same carronades would reach Cadiz, and throwing balls of an hundred pounds weight, to fall upon the flat roofs of houses six or seven stories high, would destroy all below them*.

The

* In the late war there was a party in the army and navy for and against these carronades, in consequence of which they were little used. But, in those parties, it was observable that all the men of genius and invention were on the one side, and the dunces and pedants on the other. The latter party were lucky in this respect, that in a new invention the carriages were not at first properly contrived, and therefore the guns bounced. But that defect has since been remedied, or certainly may be remedied. This invention, amidst all its horrors, may prove beneficial to mankind; because, by the use of general and equal destruction, it may force nations to keep peace with each other. But at any rate it is of the last importance to Britain, because it presents her with a shield to guard her only vulnerable parts, her docks, and other maritime places, which cannot be turned into fortresses without danger to liberty at home, nor left as they are without being exposed to insult from abroad; one of which, in time of war, requires a fleet stationed to defend it, instead of annoying the enemy, when that enemy, I mean France, needs no such protection, because her fortified maritime places defend themselves. To persons of philosophical minds, at a distance from politics, and all those politicians who keep men of genius always at a distance from men in power, it was an amusement of late (though a painful one) to see one-half of the engineers, generals, admirals, and

The Spaniards were so conscious of the weakness of Cadiz, that when the confederate fleets under the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke arrived there, they learned that the Spaniards had sent all their valuable effects across the bay to Port St. Mary's; and four ships of war of sixty guns, with eight galleons, had retired into the Pointal. An Englishman in that age could not hear the words *Spanish effects* pronounced, without associating with them the idea of mountains of gold and silver. The fleet and army were therefore alike disappointed to hear that their prey had escaped them, but re-animated when they heard that it was no further off than St. Mary's; and the ideas of honour gave place to those of avarice in all. The gunners declared that their bombs could not reach the town; the soldiers, that the landing on the neck was not safe; the engineers, that no judgment could be made there; the seamen (with the exception of rear admiral Sir Stafford Fairbairn, who offered to run through the Narrows if any other would follow him), that the passage into the Narrows was dangerous, because defences had been thrown across it, by sinking vessels and anchors; the pilots, that the mouth of the river St. Pedro was neither deep nor safe; and some of the captains of ships who lay between Cadiz and St. Catharine's complained that they were exposed to the enemy's fire, though the places were above four miles asunder. But all agreed, and

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The expedition disappointed, and causes of it.

and makers of bad speeches for or against ministers, disputing in parliament how to begin to misapply millions at home, after millions had been misapplied abroad, for the purpose of making bad fortifications worse, when a few hundred carronades, throwing the weight of 100 pounds, and judiciously disposed, could guard the forts of England, and of her dominions, against the attacks of the universe. Can it be believed that any ship will approach a battery of guns which throw balls of such a weight that a few of them striking the hull will sink a ship, or throw a sheet of cannon shot, one of which going across a deck, will clear it both of men and cordage?

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Sir George Rooke among the rest, that a landing at Port St. Mary's was the sure way to reach Cadiz, by marching round the bay to it. The Duke of Ormond, almost alone, pressed for an attack upon the town either by land or sea, perhaps remembering that he was in the same situation with the gallant Earl of Essex in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who had like him been opposed by his council in his wish to attack Cadiz, had at last prevailed with them, and when he did so, threw his hat into the air in a transport of gallant joy. But the duke's pressing instances in council and out of council proved fruitless. He was distracted too by the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, formerly viceroy of Catalonia, who assured him, that if he gave the delay of a week or two to the Spaniards, they would yield to their natural bias against France; by Rooke, who taking advantage of the terms of the manifesto published in Spain by orders from England *, put him in mind that he was to defend, not destroy the towns of the Queen's ally, and therefore not to bombard Cadiz; and by letters from Mr. Methuen, ambassador in Portugal, who, being generous himself, said, that the best way to conquer Spain was by generosity. Yet the duke for some days still delayed quitting Cadiz; and in the mean time Rooke, confined to his cabin by the gout, or pretending to be so, heard of his agonies with a sullen indifference, and with the same indifference gave orders to his ships to protect the landing on the continent opposite to Cadiz, when the duke had at last been prevailed upon to land there.

The troops were landed in the bay of Bulls, and near a week spent in taking the fort of St. Catharine's, and other forts there. When the duke came first to the bay of Cadiz, he had summoned the governor of Cadiz,

* Manifesto published in Gazette of September 20, 1702.

the Duke of Villadarias, to surrender: With a Spanish spirit the governor answered, "That he would follow the generous examples of his ancestors, who had never owed their elevation to the blood or exile of their Kings*." The duke, irritated by an answer which reproached him with the desertion of his sovereign and his general in the hour of need, threatened the commandant of St. Catharine's, that he would hang him if he did not surrender. The commandant answered with Spanish gravity, "That it was much the same whether he was hanged for keeping the fort, or for giving it up; but that he would die rather by the hands of his foes, than of his friends."

When the soldiers and seamen arrived at last at St. Mary's, they found that the Spaniards had removed all the effects which had been brought from Cadiz, back into the country. Enraged and disappointed in the favourite passion of all armed bodies, love of plunder, they gave a loose to the other two passions, which are the most habitual to them, love of wine and of women. They broke open the cellars, where they became intoxicated with the Spanish wines, the sweetness of which enticed them, and the strength of which they did not suspect; and then committed all the disorders of war, plundering the town and country, insulting churches, and ravishing the women. They forced the nunneries, as they said, to drive the priests out of them; and the monasteries, because they expected to find them filled with nuns. In this general disorder there was no difference between soldier and seaman, and very little between officer and private man, except that the men plundered the enemy, and the officers the men, under pretence of giving redress. The Duke of Ormond was

Disorders at
St. Mary's.

* Lamberti, vol. ii. page 251.

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too young in command to have sufficient authority, and Rooke did not exert his. Besides, all authority was fruitless against drunkards and madmen, who knew not that they received punishment, even while it was inflicting. In vain the Queen afterwards lamented to parliament, the disgrace which that day brought upon her arms and the nation. In vain one of the generals, Sir Henry Bellasis, was cashiered; and another, Sir Charles O'Hara, lost his character. The affections of the Spaniards, once lost, could never be recovered, during all the course of the war, to an army, which their priests told them was composed not of men, but of devils, because they were heretics.

The Duke of Ormond, imputing these excesses to the contagion of multitudes, divided his army next day, and sent part of it to attack Fort Malagorde; but that part quickly returned, because not more than four pieces of cannon could be carried with it on account of marshes in the passage, and because it was found that the tide flowed round the fort: And then all the disorders of the soldiery returned with it, increased from the shortness of the interruption, and their sense of its cause. But, the third day, languor, dejection, silence and shame, came in their place, made more dismal by the frequency of punishment, which almost all knew they had deserved. To these succeeded bad humour with themselves and each other, which infected even the commanders in chief.

Description
of Vigo and
its bays.

The armament sailed soon after for England, dishonoured, dejected, every man laying the blame on his neighbour to throw it off himself, and preparing to make his complaint in England of the misbehaviour of all, when they met Captain Hardy at sea, who had learned from the blabbing vanity of a French consul in the bay of Lagos, that the Spanish galleons, with an immense

immense treasure from the South Seas, had got safely into Vigo, under the protection of a fleet of his countrymen. It was instantly resolved in a council of war, to turn the course of the fleet and army to Vigo. At the sound of treasures from the South Seas, dejection and animosity ceased; and those who a few days before would not speak when they met, now embraced and felicitated each other. The bays of Vigo very much resemble those of Cadiz; for, there is an outer and inner bay separated by two points of land which approach near to each other, and on which there are forts in the same way as in the entry to the Pointal at Cadiz, and the town lies in the outer bay. The French and Spaniards had made the resemblance still more complete: for, on hearing that the confederate fleet had turned its course towards Vigo, they withdrew all their ships into the inner bay; and besides the same obstructions which had been made use of in the passage between the two bays at Cadiz, they threw a boom across the passage at Vigo between the two bays. In one respect the situation of the bays at Vigo is inferior to those of Cadiz, that they are commanded by heights. But of this advantage, because it was a slow one, the confederate armament made no use; for, when the fleet entered the outer bay, and saw the French fleet, and the treasures of Spain, locked up in the inner bay, and incapable of escape except by their own valour, all the difficulties which had appeared to be mountains at Cadiz, dwindled down into mole-hills at Vigo. The gunners agreed, that their bombs could reach the town and shipping; the engineers, that lodgments and works could easily be made; the soldiers, that there was no danger in landing; the seamen, that the passage at the Narrows could easily be forced, notwithstanding all its defences and obstructions; and the pilots, that the depth of the
water

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water was every where sufficient, and anchorage safe. Rooke's gout incommoded him no longer: He went from ship to ship even in the night-time, and became civil; and the duke, with his father's generosity, his brother's, and his own, forgot all that was past.

It was resolved that all at one time the ships should batter the town of Vigo in the outer bay; the bomb vessels bombard it and the shipping in the inner bay; the troops land on the same side of the bay with Vigo, but pass the town, in order to get the more speedily at the enemy's ships; one part of them to attack one of the forts which defended the passage between the two bays, while the other part was to pass that fort, and march along the side of the inner bay, in order to annoy with artillery the shipping; and the vessels of war to force their entry into the inner bay, notwithstanding the forts, and obstructions between the forts. In order to animate the army, the duke landed with the first body; and to animate the fleet, all the admirals quitted their flags, and went on board such of the small ships as could approach nearest where the danger was greatest. The boom was burst by the shock of the ships of war striking against it in their passage, amidst all the fire of the enemy's forts and ships. But the entry of the fleet was delayed for some time, by the accident of Admiral Hopson's ship, which had been the first to break the boom, and pass in, being set on fire by a French fire-ship. When the flames reached near the powder room, the seamen leaped into the sea, where above an hundred of them were drowned; but their commander went calmly to the place, and extinguished the fire.—The troops at the fort in the mean time meeting with difficulties, the Spaniards, who observed it, opened a gate to make a sally upon them; but in that instant a small body of English grenadiers rushed to the gate, and secured

cured it till their companions joined and entered with them. The French and Spaniards seeing the passage between the bays forced, one of the forts that guarded it stormed, several of the enemy's ships in the inner bay, a great fleet of them in the outer bay, and an army marching along the shore with artillery that could reach them, resolved to burn their own fleet, that it might not fall into the hands of their enemies; the most gallant of all the French admirals, Chateauneuf, shewing the way to his squadron. A singular spectacle was then presented to the Spanish inhabitants, who were gathered on the heights round the bay; the Spanish and French seamen and soldiers endeavouring to destroy their own ships, and the English and Dutch to save them, and both sides intent upon their work alone, and not to annoy each other, except when their mutual interruptions forced them to encounter. In this struggle nine French ships of war were burnt, of which four were of the line, and ten taken, of which eight were of the line; and of the Spanish galleons, from twenty to forty guns, eleven were taken, and six destroyed. It was believed that twenty millions of pieces of eight were on board: But the real amount of the treasure was never known, because much was sunk, much secreted by those who took it, and the French and Spanish crowns seized what had been saved in the struggle, under pretence of accounting for it to the merchants to whom most of it belonged, but in reality from the necessity of their affairs; for, though security was by public declaration promised to the merchants, they never got it.

The animosity between the commanders in chief, which had been suspended by the prospect of wealth and glory, revived on the enjoyment of them. Rooke, on the day after his success, without any previous advertisement or preparation, wrote to the Duke of Ormond,

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that he was to send the great ships and bomb vessels immediately to England; adding these words, "I offer it to your consideration, whether yourself will not think it proper, now all probability of service is over, to take this opportunity of the great ships of going home yourself." The duke answered, that if Rooke would leave him ships enough, he would attack Vigo, and if he took it, winter there. Rooke's reply was in these words: "I will venture to leave five or six frigates with you: I can also leave your grace six weeks or two months provisions for the army, which is all I can do." This offer put a speedy end to the correspondence, by the duke's writing that he would be ready to sail next day: And he left Spain with his army*, for the same reason that every army will leave every part of Spain, except that which lies on the coast of the Mediterranean, want of provisions, and of every necessary of life. Hopson got a pension instead of honour; the commanders in chief, the trinket of thanks from parliament, which could not be refused; and the Duke of Ormond, an honourable exile in the government of Ireland, and the envy of the Duke of Marlborough, which stopped his farther advances in glory, and at an after-period ended in the fall of both.

Reflections.

The success of Vigo might have pointed out to England, then and since, that the proper direction of war against Spain was against her harbours, because her ports of Alicant and Carthagea are commanded by heights, and poorly defended to the land; Cadiz was a prize not difficult to be seized; the weakness of Vigo had been exposed; and there were no other fortified harbours in Spain of any consequence, except Gibraltar, which was soon after taken; Barcelona, into which no

* Examination in Lords Journals.

vessel carrying above forty guns can enter; Ferrol, where ships are destroyed by the worm, because its bottom is foul, and all the places of safety in the Bay of Biscay, were of little consequence, because too much within land from the running of the coast of Spain away to the west. In the South Seas, their dominions were in the same condition in which they are at this hour; because, from causes natural and political, their condition continues always the same: For, of the few fortifications which they have there, most were built of mud walls, partly from indolence, and partly because in some provinces no stone is to be found; their guns honeycombed, from the hot and dry nature of the air in some places, in which no showers of rain are ever to be seen*; the shot and shells cracked, rusted, or wasted, from the same causes, so as to be of little effect by the windage to which those defects give an opening; the carriages of many of the guns split, or rotten, from the heat of the weather, and the difficulty of procuring proper wood to repair or replace them, in some places, where no wood grows; the musquets and their ball in the same condition; and the powder weakened in its quality by the length of the passage from Europe, and the alternate succession of extreme heat and extreme dews; two or three ships of war stationed off Lima; two or three thousand soldiers scattered along a sea-coast four thousand miles in length; and the inhabitants of the whole empire as weak and as fearful as women, from the relaxing nature of the climate, and because they never heard the sound of war†. What could have been

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* It appears from the late publications of Mons. Volney and Savory, that the hot and dry air of the lower Egypt affects the surface of iron.

† I was at Lisbon in the late war, when France persuaded Spain to order the English merchants to leave Spain, and then sent them an invitation to settle in France, which obliged many of them to take shelter in Lisbon till

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been done at that time, even by private persons, and can be done at any time by them, against so feeble a foe, may be seen in the Appendix to this volume, No. I. which contains an account of an intended expedition into the South Seas by private persons in the late war, and which I publish for the sake of two nations whose interests are the same, and whose affections (at least if the affections of the English to the Spanish nation can be guessed from those of the Spaniards to the English) are mutual: I say, for the sake of Spain, that she may know the dangers to which she will expose herself by quarrels with England; and for the sake of England, that she may take advantage of them, if quarrels shall be forced upon her:

But the glory of the Duke of Marlborough was concerned, that the eyes of England should be turned another way. And a nation followed him, which is always led while it thinks that it drives all others; and the very popularity of whose vanities, from the first year of Queen Anne to the end of the last continental war, has contributed to lead it astray, dreaming of victories and sieges on the continent, but not reflecting that the only end of war is peace, and that the true victories of a maritime nation, if wise, lie not in slaughtering enemies whose places are easily filled up, nor in taking towns which are easily retaken, and which at a peace are always given back, but in cutting off, as quickly as can be done, their resources of money, to force them not only soon to make peace, but to persevere in keeping it long.

they should resolve what to do. In consequence of this accident, I had occasion to see many British subjects who had lately come from the South Seas; and their concurrent testimony of the state of the Spanish dominions there, was such as I have described. The Appendix, N° 1. will shew that I had very good reasons for being exact in my inquiries, and to weigh the credit of testimonies with care.

If

If there be any thing in Parts third and fourth of this volume, which shall call the attention to the advantages which England alone, and much more England and Holland united, possess, in making war upon France in a way forgot for many centuries; or to the advantages which England possesses in conducting a war against Spain, in a way which has not been practised since the reign of Queen Elizabeth;—if there be any thing in them to show those two nations, that the English lion, though lately in the toils, and sorely beset by them, has still resources left in their weaknesses, and in unions with sister nations which are still not impracticable:—In fine, if the reflection on calamities void of all fruit but calamity, which the frequency of war brings upon European nations, shall make them feel the wishes, the prayers, and even the agonies for peace, similar to those which the writer of these sheets feels, then he will have attained his end in publishing them.

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A P P E N D I X.

N° I.

ACCOUNT of an INTENDED EXPEDITION into the SOUTH SEAS by PRIVATE PERSONS in the LATE WAR.

BEFORE I enter upon the following relation, three observations must be premised.

I. The only passage by which ships of war or privateers have hitherto gone upon expeditions against the Spaniards in the South Seas, is by Cape Horn. But it is extremely dangerous and difficult in that high latitude to attempt the passage, except in the summer months; and the only summer months there are December and January.

II. When the passage is made, vessels meet with a south land wind from the southmost point of Chili all the way to the bay of Panama. This wind never varies, carries ships above an hundred miles a day, and the tract in which it runs reaches an hundred leagues off the coast to the west.

From the bay of Panama, ships are carried to the East Indies by the great trade wind, at the rate of above an hundred miles a day. This is the track of the Spanish ships, from their dominions in the South Seas, to their possessions in the Philippine islands.

From

From the East Indies to the South Seas there are two passages;—one by the north, to sail to the latitude of 40° north, in order to get into the great west wind, which about that latitude blows ten months in the year; and which, being strong, carries vessels with quickness to the northern part of the coast of Mexico. From the extreme point of Mexico in the north, there is a land wind which blows all the way to the bay of Panama, from the north to the south, precisely similar in all respects to the land wind which blows along the coast of Chili to that bay, from the south to the north. This first tract into the latitude of 40° north, and then along the coast of Mexico, is the route which the Acapulco ships take in coming from the Philippines to the South Seas.—The other route from the East Indies is by the south, to get into the latitude of 40° south in New Holland; and from thence to take advantage of the great west wind, which about that latitude blows ten months of the year, in order to reach Chili, where the south land wind will be found. The facility of this last route was not known till the late discoveries, which will make the memory of Sir Joseph Banks, of Captain Cook, of Lord Sandwich, and of his present Majesty, immortal in history.

III. All the English expeditions into the South Seas, since the first by Sir Francis Drake, till the last by Lord Anson, have been successful, but few of them profitable.—The reason of their success is obvious. The naval force of Spain is stationed always in Calloa bay, off Lima; because that bay is the most proper part of the Spanish dominions for a naval station, from its superior safety to all other places in the South Seas, and from its being central between their southern and northern provinces there. If the commanders of that naval force hear that the English ships are on the coasts
of

of the provinces, either to the south or north of Lima, they cannot go to find them in the teeth of the south or north land wind. They must, therefore, first run out an hundred leagues west, in order to get out of those winds; and then turn to the north or south, to reach the latitude at which they wish to arrive; and, lastly, turn in to the east on the skirt of one of the land winds to reach the coast. In all these three courses they will be going at the rate of perhaps thirty miles a day; while, in the mean time, the English vessels, at the distance of an hundred leagues, within the outer skirts of the land winds, are running along the coast at the rate of above an hundred miles a day: so that it is almost impossible that the pursued and the pursuers should ever meet. And accordingly, in all the English enterprises in the South Seas, I do not remember a single instance of a ship being taken during these two courses; I mean along the coast of Chili and Peru, until they got into the bay of Panama; or along the coast of Mexico, until they got into that bay. It is equally difficult to catch them in the bay of Panama, on account of the number of islands and places of shelter there.—Again, the reason why several of the expeditions have been unprofitable was, that unless the captors lighted upon money, ingots, plate, or jewels, they had no market for their numerous prizes, and were therefore obliged to destroy them. The account of Lord Anson's voyage shews, that if he had had vessels and crews to carry to a market all the prizes he took in the South Sea, and the plunder he burnt at Peyta, he must have gained 1,200,000*l.* more than the 400,000 that he did. But this disadvantage is now over; because the empire and influence of England is now so vast in the East, that prizes taken in the South Seas cannot fail of finding markets in India and China.

As it was understood that the late Lord George Germaine was intrusted with the conduct of the late war, I more than once presumed to say to him, because he was always good in listening to me, that at a time when all the King's ships were employed in public great services to preserve the dominions of England, from France, Spain, America, and Holland, it was impossible to expect they should be able to annoy the trade of the enemies; and that this last service should be conducted, by giving encouragements of reward and honour to privateers, by which the war against the enemy's trade might be maintained at the expence of the merchants, and not of the state, or at least at a very small expence to the state, if encouragement was given to merchants: That Queen Elizabeth had acted in this way, not only in her public administration, but in her private conduct, who used often to go down the river in her barge, sailed round the private ships of war to examine them, went on board, sometimes even dined in them, knighted the captains where they had merit, changed the names of the vessels when she did not like them into lucky names, to please the humours of the seamen; made donatives of money to the crews, and added all the flatteries of a woman to all the smiles of a sovereign, to animate the men and their commanders; by which she gained the treasures of Spain to England, more than by her armies and navies; and, which was of far more consequence, she spread a spirit of honour, of activity, and of marine chivalry, among her young nobility and gentry, who were as vain of maintaining vessels of war at their own expence, and sailing them themselves, as their posterity are now of keeping race-horses, and attending gaming-tables: That though the public of France, Spain and America united, had more money than the public of England; yet that private persons had more money in
England

England than private persons had in those three countries; and that the great art of government seemed to be, to engage private persons in Britain, by views of honour, and of their private interest, to make public exertions. I had not then the honour of the acquaintance of Lord Sandwich; otherwise I should have held the same language to him, and am persuaded, I should have met with the same indulgence. Lord George heard me with patience, because he was not one of those ministers who will not speak on professional subjects except to professional men: One of the most unfortunate conceits that ministers of state can form; because, as common sense and a knowledge of facts are the foundations of all professions, it may sometimes happen that those who are not of the profession, may know more of it than those who are; and whenever a professional man wraps himself up in the mystery of his trade, to keep all who do not belong to it at arms length from him, it is a sure mark that he is not only ignorant, but is conscious of his being so.

The last Spanish war broke out so late in the summer that there was little chance of getting any expedition of consequence ready to pass Cape Horn in the proper months of December or January: And therefore there was a prospect that the most vulnerable parts of the Spanish empire, her South Seas, would be safe from attack for twenty months. But it occurred to me, that since the late discovery of Captain Cook and his friends, there were two easy ways of getting into the South Seas at any time of the year; the one from Britain by the Cape of Good Hope, and the other from India, either by the Philippines to hold north, or by New Holland to hold south; that the very circumstance of the consciousness of Spain of her security for twenty months, gave an advantage to those who should attempt to make her

feel her mistake; and that the proper mode of conducting an expedition from Britain in the South Seas, was to run by the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand to the coast of Chili; from thence along that coast by the south land wind into the bay of Panama; from thence upon the trade wind with the prizes, and such of their goods as were fit for the eastern markets, to the eastern islands, China or India; and from these two last countries back with additional crews, new stores, and refitted ships, or new ships, by the Philippines, to the north coast of Mexico; from thence by the north land wind into the bay of Panama; and so to continue the circle of expeditions, by cruising in the South Seas, and landing on the coasts, as long as they continued profitable.

There were at that time three merchants of Glasgow, who amongst them had gained half a million sterling by trade, and whose vigour of mind I knew to be equal to their fortunes: The late Mr. Glasford, the late Mr. Speirs, and the present Mr. Cunningham. On the 10th of July 1779, I wrote the following letter to Mr. Glasford, who had been my dear friend for twenty years.

“ DEAR SIR, Edinburgh, July 10th, 1779.

“ Near two years ago I saw several letters from our
“ countrymen in the West Indies and North America,
“ that there was a great spirit of privateering in those
“ parts, but that it was checked by the West Indian
“ governors, who took exorbitant fees for letters of
“ marque; by the admirals, who accounted privateers
“ to be poachers on their ground; and by the brothers
“ the Howes, who wished to keep all vessels near them-
“ selves for the public service. I wrote Lord George
“ Germaine an account of those things, and sent him

“ the letters. He soon took care that full scope should
 “ be given to privateers, and since that time wrote me,
 “ that the nation had owed much to them:

“ On different occasions I have had particular oc-
 “ casion to know his lordship's opinion that the enemies
 “ trade might be more effectually destroyed by priva-
 “ teers, than in any other way, and he has created
 “ exertions in that way (which I shall explain to you at
 “ meeting) that are known to very few but myself.

“ These things emboldened me, in two letters, to
 “ send the following project to Lord George; that an
 “ attack should be made in the Spanish South Seas from
 “ India and Europe at the same time, or nearly at the
 “ same time; that for this purpose a dispatch should in-
 “ stantly be sent over land to India for the company's
 “ troops, ships, and treasures, either to make an attack
 “ upon Manilla, or, if that place was thought too
 “ strong, to go to the coast of Mexico, even though
 “ the expedition was small; that small squadrons of
 “ stout privateers from Glasgow, Liverpool, Bristol,
 “ London, &c. should be prevailed on to go round by
 “ the Cape of Good Hope; and that, as encourage-
 “ ments to the merchants, government should insure
 “ their ships, in the same way as they do the storeships
 “ and transports in their service, give commissions to
 “ last during the expedition, to their officers, in the
 “ same way as Queen Elizabeth and Queen Anne did,
 “ and assist them with marines in order to preserve sub-
 “ ordination. I added, that I thought the Glasgow
 “ part might be executed by three men, for whose se-
 “ crecy I could answer, Mr. Speirs, Mr. Cunningham,
 “ and yourself.

“ How Lord George may receive this project I do
 “ not know. But my reason for informing you of it
 “ before

“ before I have his answer is, that you may have time
“ to form your thoughts upon it.

“ It does occur, that it is impossible for three men
“ to do a greater service to their country, or higher to
“ their own honour, than engaging in this one; that
“ you may probably be the first on the field of plunder;
“ and, if government gives its assistance, that there are
“ few adventures in which private persons may have a
“ better chance of making a large profit with a smaller
“ risk than in this one.

“ I recommend to you the perusal of Woodes Rogers’
“ voyage, who certainly was a very uncommon man,
“ and shall send you all the other books of voyages into
“ those seas.”

The import of the answers which I received from the gentlemen, was, that they liked the idea very well in general, but could not trust their own judgment upon it; and therefore desired me to communicate it to Mr. Millar of Edinburgh for his opinion. Mr. Glasford’s letter contained these remarkable words: “ I have made my
“ fortune by British trade, and think it a duty to venture
“ part of it in protecting that trade.”

Mr. Millar, a banker of great wealth, and ancient family, had been originally in the sea service. He is the same person who invented and improved the caronade gun, and who has lately invented an improvement upon shipping, of perhaps still greater importance to a naval nation; the double ship, worked by wheels in the two separations between the two vessels, in a calm and when the wind is contrary*. I know not his equal in
this

* Mr. Millar lately sent a present of his book with plates to describe the vessel and its principles to every sovereign of Europe, and also to the American States, because he thought that the invention ought to be the property of human kind. Copies of it were also sent to the royal society at London, the

this island in point of invention, sagacity to regulate it, industry, and spirit. And therefore, when I was sent to him, I thought the race was won. But Mr. Millar, after hearing me for some time, without saying a word, rung a bell, called for a globe, and twirling it two or three times round, pointed out, that a ship going from Britain to the South Seas by Cape Horn, traversed only a third of the globe; whereas to go by the Cape of Good Hope, she must sail round the whole of it: and then gravely asked me, whether I was not mad to engage my friends in so romantic a project. I answered, that I measured distances, not by the space of sea gone over, but by the space of time required to go over it; that the difference in point of time between the one route and the other was only six weeks, which I shewed by tacking together the times in which different voyages had been made from one point of the route to another; a method which I was obliged to follow from want of a better, because no attempt has ever been made to perform the whole voyage in one stretch, without turning or stopping in the course, for different purposes; and that the loss of six weeks seemed to be compensated by the following circumstances: Armaments going by Cape Horn stop on the coast of Braziles, from whence expresses are instantly sent over land, to put the South Seas on their guard before the armaments can reach them: After their departure from the Braziles, they have no place to stop at till they get into the South Seas: By the length of the voyage, the shaking of the ships in high latitudes, with a violent west wind almost continually against them, and the fatigue of the seamen, they are

advocates' library in Scotland, and the university libraries of that country, and I believe also of England; and he constructed, and tried in the sea, several of these vessels, to ascertain which was the best form, at his own expence, which has been a very great one.

obliged,

obliged, instead of making their attack on their first coming upon the scene of action, when men's spirits are highest, to go off to Juan de Fernandes, or Mazafuero, in order to refit their ships and recover the healths of the crews: In the one passage the vessels are exposed to shipwreck in high latitudes, and with high winds in their face; whereas, in the other, they may have three resting places after they take their departure from the Cape de Verd islands, to wit, the Cape of Good Hope, New Holland, and New Zealand, go in easy latitudes from 33 to 35°, except for a week or two along the extremity of New Holland, even at which place the latitude is not higher than 40°, and are carried to their point of destination, the one way, by that prevailing westerly wind, which in the other way would impede them. Mr. Millar said he would give the idea fair play, but he must have time to consider. In a few days he wrote me a letter, to be shewn to the Glasgow gentlemen, that the project was a good one, if government would assist them.

In the mean time I had the honour to receive the following answer from Lord George Germaine.

“ DEAR SIR,

July 24th, 1779.

“ I am much obliged to you for the information you
“ gave me, and which you have communicated to Lord
“ North, about the manner of conducting the war
“ against Spain. I agree with you, that the plans pro-
“ posed would distress the enemy most effectually; but
“ I fear Lord North would not be prevailed upon, at
“ this time, to grant that money for the encouragement
“ of the privateers, which he may think at present ne-
“ cessary for the immediate defence of this country;
“ and indeed, till he knows whether the fleet of this
“ kingdom can maintain its superiority at sea, and by
“ that

" that means prevent the invasions which are prepared
 " against us, he will not readily adopt measures of of-
 " fence, which he will not be able to support, till suc-
 " cess has attended the naval operations now depending.
 " The Spaniards and French have now at sea, in Eu-
 " rope, no less than seventy sail of the line; a few days
 " may produce events of the utmost consequence; till
 " these are decided, it is in vain to speculate upon distant
 " operations. In former wars, the superiority of our
 " fleet left administration at full liberty to adopt and
 " pursue plans of offence in every quarter of the world.
 " I trust that situation may soon be restored to us; and
 " then, I am certain, the war against France and Spain
 " should be carried on with all possible vigour; for this
 " empire is undone, if it can act only on the defensive.

" I wished to have delayed writing to you for some
 " time, till I could see the turn affairs were likely to
 " take; but I should be sorry if you could have con-
 " strued my silence into any want of attention to you,
 " or disregard to what you proposed; and therefore, I
 " now write, that I may have the pleasure of returning
 " you my thanks for your zeal for the public service,
 " and, at the same time, of assuring you of my regard
 " and esteem.

" I am, dear Sir,

" Your faithful humble servant."

Soon after I received a short note from Lord George,
 without a date, that he was attending to the Glasgow
 affair, and thought he could bring it about.

The three gentlemen spent the intermediate time in
 adjusting their plan. Each of them answered for a
 friend, whose names were Mr. Gordon, Mr. Dunlope,
 and Mr. Bogle, all of Glasgow, and now living: The
 honourable Mr. Elphinston, formerly captain of an

Indiaman, and now a director of the East India company, with the spirit of his brothers, and of his noble ancestors, offered to throw his money into the adventure, and to go commodore, provided government could be prevailed upon to sell a forty or fifty gun ship for him to command, and the armament should consist of three stout frigates besides, in order to be able to force harbours, and to make the more frequent landings on the towns; and the gentlemen agreed to it, though their original plan was by no means so extensive.

But upon Mr. Millar's giving his opinion in general, that such an armament was both too expensive, and would take too long time to prepare, Captain Elphinston very handsomely desired, that the gentlemen might not change their plan on his account; and said he could suggest a much better person than himself, who might possibly join them; whose name I give in public, that one gallant man may know what another gallant man thinks of him. The person was Captain Eden, who had gained so much honour to himself, and to the service of privateering, in a ship of his own. Mr. Millar's particular objections to large ships were, that they would be seen too far off, and that they could not run in on shallow coasts. The gentlemen preferred Mr. Millar's plan; but generously said, that they would yield the other to Lord George Germaine, if he thought it of consequence to the nation. Upon Mr. Millar's plan, the expence was to be 32,000*l.* of which, though rather out of my way, I agreed to throw in the odd 2,000*l.* that I might not appear to bring others into risks which I was afraid of myself.

In the correspondence, I find the two following letters from Mr. Millar to me, which I now publish without his knowledge; because I know I could not, from his modesty, have obtained his consent, and yet that future adven-

adventurers would be losers if they had not the advantage of seeing them.

“ DEAR SIR JOHN,

“ Since Captain Elphinston’s plan for employing
 “ great ships in the southern business is at an end, I
 “ will take the liberty to give my sentiments as they
 “ occur upon the subject.—I am of opinion, that
 “ nothing to purpose can be done in the South Seas by
 “ private ships of war, on any other principle than that
 “ of surprise; and therefore, ships that will carry a
 “ force superior to any merchant ships in those seas are
 “ sufficiently large.—For an expedition of this kind the
 “ ships should be swift sailers, that they may always
 “ have it in their power to get away from ships of su-
 “ perior force; and there should not be above three
 “ ships, as it is very difficult to carry out a greater
 “ number in company upon such a voyage.

“ It is also extremely difficult to preserve harmony
 “ and good agreement amongst the commanders of a
 “ greater number of ships in private service.—The
 “ ships should be equal to each other in point of sailing
 “ as near as possible.—The person who acts as commo-
 “ dore ought to be a man of very sound judgment;
 “ affable and easy in his manners, but firm and de-
 “ cisive.—He should have that character with those of
 “ his profession, as to secure the respect of the officers
 “ and men under his command, and an implicit obedience
 “ to all his orders.—Great attention to proper places of
 “ rendezvous, in case of separation, must be given in
 “ the instructions to the commanders. The size of
 “ ships which I would think proper in this voyage, is
 “ from 300 to 350 tons, carpenters measurement.—Such
 “ ships are fit for any seas: They afford good accom-
 “ modation to the seamen; stow away a great many
 “ stores

“ stores and provisions, and will carry a sufficient force
“ for any merchant ships or frigates the Spaniards have.
“ —To do more would require capital ships, which are
“ not calculated for private profit; and admitting they
“ were, it is in my opinion not probable they could re-
“ pay the expence of the voyage, although they should
“ even be fortunate in taking prizes.—I think ships of
“ 300 to 350 tons, carpenters measurement, may carry
“ on their main deck 24 or 26 of the new-constructed
“ 32 pounder carronades.—These guns are not so heavy
“ as the old six pounders, and do not take so much
“ room to fight and work them in.—I mean the main
“ deck to be that deck which goes flush fore and aft.—
“ Such ships may carry 20 or 30 of the new-invented
“ six pounder swivels upon the quarter deck, poop, and
“ fore-castle, and in the top.—One hundred and fifty
“ men will make a very sufficient crew for one of these
“ ships, of which if fifty are complete seamen, and the
“ remainder officers, ordinary seamen, and healthy
“ young landsmen, she will be a fine manned ship, and
“ I am convinced fit to take any frigate belonging to
“ France or Spain; as the 32 pounder carronades can
“ be fired four or five times for once that the enemy can
“ fire the old 12 or 18 pounders.—The men should be
“ frequently employed at the exercise of the great guns.
“ —The carronades have this great advantage from
“ their lightness, besides many others:—they can be
“ struck down into the hold at sea, and mounted at sea
“ in a very little time.—In the voyage intended, every
“ thing must depend on the health and spirits of the
“ crews.—Nothing can so effectually secure this great
“ object, as dividing the crew into three watches.—If
“ no ships have gone, or shall go to the South Seas in the
“ course of this and next month, the Spaniards will be-
“ lieve themselves safe from cruizers for the first summer.

“ and till the next.—I am convinced they will never
 “ think of an attack from the west.—The thought is
 “ new, and promises great success to the persons who
 “ shall have the spirit and sense to follow out the idea.—
 “ My line of business precludes me from a share in the
 “ undertaking ; but I wish it the greatest success, and I
 “ shall be ready at all times to contribute thereto by any
 “ small knowledge I have in such matters.

“ There is one thing should be mentioned to the gen-
 “ tlemen who engage in this adventure :—they should
 “ furnish the commanders with the voyages of all the
 “ late circumnavigators, and the best sea charts of the
 “ South Seas, and with a good terrestrial globe.—The
 “ frequent perusal of the voyages and charts is to be
 “ strictly recommended.—It will be proper to have one
 “ or two with them who understand Spanish ; and if
 “ such are not to be got, the French or Latin will do.—
 “ A tolerable scholar may acquire enough of the Spanish
 “ in the passage, by means of a dictionary and grammar,
 “ and a few Spanish books.

“ As you intend to write the gentlemen at Glasgow,
 “ you may make what use you think proper of the few
 “ loose hints thrown together here in haste.—I am,
 “ with great respect, &c.”

Edinburgh, Monday, 23d Aug. 1779.

“ DEAR SIR JOHN,

“ I have read with attention your letters to Mr.
 “ Glassford, and I admire the patience and judgment
 “ with which you have investigated the subject. If the
 “ expedition takes place, there will be sufficient time to
 “ arrange your thoughts and labours into a system
 “ adapted to the abilities of the men who are to have
 “ the command. On that account there will be little
 “ occasion

“ occasion for me to make any observations. At the
“ same time, as you are in the way of corresponding
“ with the gentlemen at Glasgow, I shall mention a
“ few things as they have occurred, with a view to keep
“ them in mind. The three ships should be equally
“ good failers, if possible. The greatest difficulty in
“ this voyage is to keep company until they get into the
“ South Seas; and that is scarce practicable, if one
“ sails fast, and another slow.—You are to observe that
“ Captain Cook, in describing a ship fit for the southern
“ seas, means a ship for discoveries upon unknown
“ coasts.

“ I have no doubt but the sharpest built ships will
“ carry all the stores and provisions sufficient for the
“ voyage; although it is always an advantage to have a
“ full built ship, if she works and sails well.—They
“ should not sail on any account with the East India
“ ships; if they do, the secret will not keep, and in-
“ telligence will, in all probability, reach America be-
“ fore them. New Zealand is not the proper place to
“ refit and refresh at in the spring and winter months.—
“ They ought to push forward to some of the new dis-
“ covered islands, in a more favourable climate.—
“ Hatchets, axes, spikes, nails, red feathers, &c. you
“ will see from Captain Cook, are articles necessary
“ for the purchase of provisions, &c.—This author
“ must be consulted on every occasion.—His informa-
“ tion upon the article of provisions is perhaps the
“ most important for your voyage.—Fishing nets,
“ hooks, and lines, must not be forgot.—The ships
“ ought to take particular care to keep out of sight of
“ Juan Fernandes and Massafuero, as intelligence may
“ be conveyed from thence to the continent even in an
“ open boat.

“ If the ships are from 400 to 500 tons each, I think
 “ they should not carry less than one hundred and se-
 “ venty or one hundred and eighty men each ; but I am
 “ of opinion, that fifty or sixty good seamen a ship is
 “ sufficient.—The remainder of the crew should be
 “ stout healthy landmen, from twenty to thirty years of
 “ age.—I would not think of arming above two or
 “ three prizes ; and twenty or thirty good men, with
 “ proper officers, and a few Indians or negroes, will
 “ render them formidable ships in those seas.—Twenty
 “ 24 pounder carronades, and the same number of
 “ swivels, six pounders, is a great force, and yet can be
 “ used in action by fifty or sixty men.

“ It would be a very difficult matter to direct the
 “ operations of a greater number of ships.—The rule
 “ should be, for the ships when they are upon their sta-
 “ tions to lie by every night under a mizen-stay-sail, or
 “ some other single small sail, to prevent their being
 “ discovered in the night time. A few minutes before
 “ day breaks, all the sails should be set, and a course
 “ taken as if for the first port, to prevent suspicions, if
 “ any ship is in sight when day breaks.

“ If nothing appears, then the ship should imme-
 “ diately regain her station, and furl all her sails.—Ships
 “ are seen at a greater distance when under sail than
 “ when not.

“ I have not heard of this being tried, but I am sure
 “ it is right.—They must not tire upon their stations,
 “ and go backwards and forwards, if they do not meet
 “ prizes immediately.—It is necessary to wait with the
 “ patience of fishers for their game.

“ In land attacks I must recommend the carronade.—
 “ Four men will carry a twelve pounder carronade up a
 “ hill: carriages for ten or twelve of these guns should
 “ be

“ be made, and I believe there are few of their fortifications will resist the impression they would make; and, I am certain, there are no troops they can collect able to resist a battery of such guns loaded with grape shot; considering, that from their being portable, any station may be taken with them.—This is all that occurs at present. I am, with great respect, &c.”

Edinburgh, Sept. 16, 1779.

While these matters were canvassing, the French and Spanish fleets entered the channel. I wrote the following note to Mr. Glasford: “ The enemy seem to be running themselves into a noose, by bringing so large a fleet up so narrow a sea: If they are beat, the hour of victory and revenge is the hour for you to apply to ministers.” The gentlemen did not despair of the republic, though many others at that time did. Mr. Glasford’s answer desired me to throw the project into the draught of a letter to Lord George, which he and his friends would alter as they thought proper. Immediately after, we heard that the combined fleets, overwhelmed with diseases and fears, had run away from that English fleet which was running away from them; and then I sent Mr. Glasford the following draught of a letter to Lord George.

“ MY LORD,

“ We propose to fit out for the Spanish South Seas three swift privateers of about 300 tons each, carpenters measure, very full of men, and armed with small and large carronades, the last to carry balls of thirty-two pounds; and, in order to extend the armament wider, we propose to send the frames of
“ three

“ three vessels from ten to twelve tons, to be put together at the last land we touch on our way, and to arm these, and also such of our prizes as are swift, with the spare carronades carried out in our ships, and to man both, partly with the supernumerary men carried out in our ships, and partly by mingling the best of the negroes and mulatto prisoners, who are the common mariners of those seas, with our own people, under a promise of liberty if they behave well.

“ Our ships will go by the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand, a passage never before attempted by an armament.

“ A secret known to so few persons, an attack from so unexpected a quarter, at so unexpected a season of the year, with so unexpected a weight of metal, shot from such small and swift ships, promise us success in injuring the enemy's trade.

“ But as a passage through seas where an armament never went before must be hazardous, and as the public will receive equal advantage with ourselves from the enterprise (particularly if our attempt shall create an embargo in those seas, which may happen, in which case our profits will sink just in proportion as the public will reap advantage), we cannot in common prudence engage in it, unless government shall insure, or pay for the insurance of our ships and their furniture. In King William's time, we are told that government paid not only the insurance, but many other expences of the privateers which it employed, and that government does the same now, with respect to the privateers and transports which it employs. We submit to your lordship, that our officers ought to have his Majesty's commission during the service, and that we should be assisted with marines.

“ We

“ We also take the liberty to suggest to your lordship,
“ that in case a peace with the enemy should be made,
“ before our vessels begin to act, it would be but common
“ justice to indemnify us, by taking our ships with their
“ furniture off our hands.

“ We once thought of making the squadron consist
“ of a forty gun ship, with three stout frigates, so as to
“ be enabled, by so strong an armament, to force har-
“ bours, to raise contributions on the towns, to lay, in
“ that case for certain, the enemy's trade to and from
“ the South Sea under an embargo, and by these means
“ to do extensive and important service to the nation ;
“ but found it impossible to procure a forty gun ship on
“ a short warning. Government alone can remedy that
“ defect ; and if it inclines to sell us half worn ships of
“ war of these sizes, whether English or prize ships, at
“ moderate prices, we are still willing to proceed on
“ that large scale : because, when it becomes proper for
“ the public to know what we are doing, it may animate
“ others to follow our example.

“ For obvious reasons, it will be proper that we
“ should have a communication from government of
“ what ships, public or private, may be gone, or going
“ to those seas, together with a communication of such
“ official information relative to the state of those seas
“ and coasts, as his Majesty's servants may think proper
“ to entrust us with.

“ At this distance from the seat of government, we
“ are ignorant whether our application should be through
“ your lordship's channel ; and therefore we humbly de-
“ sire, that you will lay this our application before his
“ Majesty or his ministers, in what way you shall think
“ right : and if it is thought proper, one of our number
“ will go to London, to wait on such of the King's
“ servants

“servants as shall be entrusted with attention to the
“business.”

I was told that the gentlemen made some alterations upon the draught before the letter went to Lord George; and that in this, or in another letter, they made the generous addition to their proposal, that they did not desire to be paid the insurance of each particular ship that was lost, provided there was a gain on the whole adventure.

I recollect in our conversations at that time several things, which I now make public, because they may be of use to others at another time.

The Duke of Newcastle’s administration gave ten thousand pounds to private adventurers, who sent car-goes in Lord Anson’s squadron, with a view to open a trade with the Indians hostile to the Spaniards in the South Seas. Mr. Pitt’s administration gave a great sum to assist the private adventurers, who, in the year 1762, engaged in the intended attack upon Buenos Ayres, which ended so unfortunately at Nova Colonia. These are examples which passed in our own day for adventurers to quote to ministers, and for ministers to quote for themselves when they follow them.

In order to make our provisions carried from Britain last longer, and also to give health to the men, Mr. Mil-lar proposed that the crew should live on fresh provisions, as long as they could be made to last, after departing from England, the Cape de Verd islands, the Cape of Good Hope, New Holland, and New Zealand; and that a quantity of salt should be taken on board in passing at the Cape de Verd islands, with which, at the different landing places, sea fowls, fish, amphibious and land animals, should be fresh salted; and for that purpose, that some of the crew should be

composed of persons, who had been accustomed to cure fish and flesh. The gentlemen intended also to have sent out brewing vessels, and brewers, with molasses, that they might make spruce beer, as Captain Cook did, from the forests of firs and pines which grow in New Zealand, to preserve the healths of the men; and to have grudged no expence in sending out the juices of flesh, vegetables, and worts, prepared in the way proposed by Captain Cook, to supply the place of fresh provisions, vegetables, and malt liquor. It is a duty which I owe to my deceased and to my living friends at Glasgow, to say, that their thoughts seemed to be more intent on prevailing upon Mr. Millar to find out contrivances to preserve the healths of the men, than even upon their own profits. Mr. Millar always said that this was true economy, because the extraordinary expence would be amply repaid in the number and health of the crews.

I recollect a circumstance which shews the noble station that a British merchant fills in this empire. I was once saying to Mr. Glasford, who used to employ twenty-four tobacco ships in his service, that I was afraid common seamen would not submit in our day, to live on the penguin sea fowl, and on young seals, as Sir Francis Drake, Sir Richard Hawkins, Mr. Cavendish, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir John Narborough, Captain Dampier, Captains Rogers, and other gentlemen in former times had done: He answered, "that he would go down to Greenock and Port Glasgow himself, where he could pick out an hundred seamen, every one of whose persons and characters he knew; and that if he promised to take care of their wives and mothers in their absence, they would, to please him, live on any thing, in order to shew an example to the rest of the men."

By spreading out the three ships, the three small vessels which were to be carried out in frames, and the

prizes, from the coast into the ocean at such distances as that every vessel should be in sight of two, one to the east, and the other to the west of her; and by advancing regularly in the tract of the land winds, we reckoned that no vessel could escape our squadron, which it was proper to encounter.

From the printed relations not of one voyage, but of almost all the voyages to the South Seas, we thought we had a moral certainty that our people, when they came on the scene of action, could find plenty of fresh provisions, water, and vegetables, in their prizes at sea, and by their landings on the coast, and that there could be no want of negro and mulatto seamen in the prizes, to navigate such of them as should be converted into privateers.

Lord Anson, with only two of his ships left when he came upon the scene of action, and only three hundred and thirty men, broken in their health and spirits, and only three prizes which he armed, because he had not guns for more, either took or burnt to the value of 1,400,000*l.* in the small compass of three months, and though he made only one landing. It was therefore natural for us to be sanguine in our hopes of success, when we reflected that we were to bring upon the scene of action four hundred and fifty men in health and spirits, from the route we had chosen for them; that we were to have six cruisers from the very beginning, and as many more as we should please afterwards to add to them from our prizes; that the deaths of our people could be supplied, and even new crews formed from the negro and mulatto prisoners, who are the almost only crews in those pacific seas; that we had an advantage which Lord Anson never possessed, because our vessels being small and swift, and fully manned, could overtake every thing that was weak, could run away from every thing that was strong, could be seen at no distance by land or by sea,

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could

could land almost every where on account of the little water that they drew, were intended not to make one landing, but to make many landings, and to continue on the coast, not three months, but as long as the commanders should find the expedition beneficial; and that the trade to the East Indies could hardly fail to be profitable, when the goods sent there cost us nothing; the market was within a few weeks sailing; and the competition in selling was with goods for which money had been paid in Europe, and which had taken six months to get to their market in the East Indies.

From the printed accounts of the South Seas it appears, that many of the ships used there are of a large size; one of the very few ships which Lord Anson took, carried six hundred tons, another five hundred; and from the regularity of the winds, that they require very few hands to navigate them. From these two circumstances, we thought that large stowage would be found in the prizes for the prize goods to be sent to the East Indian markets, and the crews not be weakened too much by detaching small parts of them on that service.— We resolved to make enquiry, whether the prize goods that would not sell in the East Indian markets, could find a market in the Braziles, in the way pointed out by Woodes Rogers. But instead of destroying the prizes or prize goods for which we could not find a market, or burning the towns, as too many of the later adventurers have done, we hoped to make the generosity of Glasgow merchants as famous in the South Seas, as that of Queen Elizabeth's commanders had been, who restored the prizes which they could not sell, and burnt no town that they could save.

On this head, the following passage in Mr. Glasford's letter to me, of date 20th September, gives me an opportunity to do justice to the delicacy of that most vir-

tuous man. " I think, that plundering peaceable in-
 " habitants, and perhaps with the loss of their lives in
 " defending their property, is disagreeable; and that it
 " may be better to be without that part of wealth which
 " would be so gained. It may be said indeed, that it is
 " equally bad to seize private property at sea as at land,
 " and that this happens too with the loss of lives in de-
 " fending. However true this be, yet it is a more
 " common way of making war, than I suppose the other
 " is. And property at sea is in use to be insured; which
 " expence of insuring is paid by the price of goods
 " being in time of war low at the places where shipped,
 " or high at the markets to which they are brought, or
 " both; so that this expence of insuring can be afforded,
 " and yet the merchants may make profit: So that cap-
 " tures at sea become as much, or perhaps more, a na-
 " tional than a private loss. But the inhabitants of
 " towns not being in the custom of insuring, they are
 " on a different footing from the merchants whose pro-
 " perty is seized at sea. I know not the sentiments of
 " the other gentlemen: what I have here said is only
 " what occurs to myself." — My answer was in these
 words: " The levying of contributions at land has been
 " the practice, the *jus gentium*, and the *jus belli* of Eu-
 " rope for three hundred years past; and came in place
 " of the practice which immediately preceded it, of
 " burning countries, and taking ransom for prisoners.
 " Of all human kind Marechal Turenne was the most
 " delicate in matters of honesty and honour: In one of
 " his marches into Germany he had two routes to
 " make his choice of; one through a rich, the other
 " through a poor country. The people of the rich
 " country suspecting, for obvious reasons, that he would
 " march through them, sent him the offer of a large
 " sum of contribution-money, provided he would take
 " the

“ the other route. His answer was, that he could not
“ in conscience receive the money, because he had that
“ very morning resolved in his own mind to take the
“ other route. Now, if a man who had such exquisite
“ sensibility of honour, as to stand in awe in this man-
“ ner of what had passed only in his breast unknown to
“ all others, could feel nothing wrong in levying con-
“ tributions wherever he passed, why should you be
“ more scrupulous ?”—The consequence of this scruple,
however, was, that the gentlemen agreed to raise moderate contributions in the towns, but not to plunder them.

It was not forgot to ask from government a copy of the memorial which, it appears from the account of Lord Anson's voyage, Sir Charles Wager gave to the late King's ministers, relative to an attack upon the South Seas ; because from a commander so high in rank we had reason to expect much information.

From the correspondence it appears, that the gentlemen once hesitated upon that part of the plan which proposed that the ships should go to the East Indies with their prizes, and then return to the South Seas to get more. Their objections were three. First, That the East India company might consider them as interlopers, and deem their selling prizes within the limits of the company's charter, to be contrary to the rights of it. The second, That there could not be stowage enough in the ships carried from Britain, to hold the necessary provisions for so long an adventure. And the last, That the continuation of it in the manner I proposed, would be too expensive. And Mr. Glasford desired me to ask the opinion of Mr. Elphinston.

My letter dated the 22d of September, gives his answer to the first objection, in these words : “ Mr. El-
“ phinston says, that your officers, having the King's
“ com-

“ commissions, would save you, as these sell their prizes
 “ in India; and even supposing the charter was against
 “ you, that the councils of the company in India would
 “ scorn to make use of it, against men who were doing
 “ so much service to the common cause, and even to
 “ the company’s servants, by bringing to them com-
 “ modities far cheaper than they could get them from
 “ Europe; that the markets of China, and other places
 “ on that side of India, are open to you, where you will
 “ find vent of one kind or other for what is proper for
 “ the market; that at the Batavian market the Dutch
 “ will set a price upon you; but that on the Malabar
 “ and Coromandel coasts you will be received with open
 “ arms; and that you can get provisions, stores, and as
 “ many seamen of one kind or other, to go to the
 “ South Seas, as would keep up your original stock at
 “ least.”

With regard to the second objection, the words of
 my letter are: “ Mr. Elphinston thinks that your three
 “ ships could not carry out provisions enough to support
 “ themselves to the South Seas, and them and their
 “ prizes from thence to the East Indies. You who are
 “ merchants and fitters out of ships are better judges of
 “ this matter than me. But I beg leave to remind you,
 “ that Captain Cook maintained his crew of 112 for
 “ three years on the provisions he took out with him;
 “ and that your original provisions would be saved,
 “ while your ships were on the coasts of the South Seas.
 “ For Captain Dampier relates, that the squadron of
 “ privateers in which he was engaged, which was in-
 “ creased by prizes sometimes to ten, was seldom at a
 “ pinch for provisions, although it sometimes contained
 “ above a thousand men. They took many vessels with
 “ flour and other provisions, which they stored up in
 “ the Gallipagos islands. They seldom landed, which
 “ they

“ they did often, without finding cattle, or other provisions: They found immense quantities of fish every where; they salted turtle, seals, and other provisions even near the line, the weather not being so hot in the south as in the north sea in the same latitude. With the sugar which they took, and the cocoa nuts which they gathered, they made chocolate. They found turtles in such quantities to live upon, as to make hogheads of oil of them; with twenty other conveniences which Anson had no occasion to make use of, because he had plenty of stores.”

In order to remove the last objection, I presumed to suggest, that the gentlemen should propose to government, to take their ships into pay in India, and to continue the expeditions into the South Seas, at its own expence, adding these words: “ I trust it will not be difficult to satisfy Lord George, that it is more for the benefit of the public to continue this attack for eighteen months than for three months, and an exceeding good bargain for the public, to make a war with ships already in those seas, rather than to send them from England into those seas.”

I cannot recollect any difference of opinion amongst us, but one. I had made up from printed books three lists; one was of the stations and time of continuing on them; another, of the open towns on the coast, which might be taken and laid under contribution without danger, and of towns weakly defended, which might be taken in the night-time by surprize with little danger; the third was a list of the churches and convents, with the probable value of the gold and silver plate, gold and silver images, and jewels in them: And from what is mentioned cursorily in Ulloa and other books, I thought I had reason to believe that there is more gold, silver, and jewels, in those places of devotion, than there is in

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the whole of the three British kingdoms. The belief is probably well founded; for, it is natural for the possessors of wealth to give that to the church which they cannot otherwise dispose of, who can find few borrowers to pay interest for money in countries where there is little agriculture, manufacture, or trade, who are not permitted to send the precious metals or jewels home without the consent of government, whose wives and daughters cannot bear above a certain quantity of gold and jewels on their dresses without sinking under them, and who are themselves the most superstitious of all the European nations.——In the richest part of the South Seas, where the night is equally long with the day, the attack upon the towns in the night, by surprise, is easy. The securing the plunder of the churches is equally easy, from the form of the Spanish towns in every part of the world; for they all have a great square in the centre of the town, and in that centre stands the chief church: So that invaders marching directly to that square, can both command the town, and secure the treasure in the church. But I received a private note from Mr. Glasford, that the idea of touching things dedicated to God made him uneasy, and he wished that part of the project to be dropt. Perhaps I may be mistaken; but I thought I observed, in consequence of that scruple, a struggle in the minds of some of my Glasgow friends, between their respect for religion, which made them averse to plunder churches, and their hatred of popish superstition, which made them recollect that they were only popish churches. And this last consideration seemed to me to remove the scruple a good deal from their minds.

In the end of October, I was called almost in an instant to Lisbon by a family distress. I was a day at London in passing, where I saw Lord George, who desired that
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the communication between him and the Glasgow gentlemen might be conducted by Mr. Andrew Steuart, then a lord of trade, as secrecy and prudence were of the last consequence; and that one of the gentlemen might come to London as soon as could be. Mr. Cunningham accordingly went to London.

I received accounts in Lisbon that the expedition did not take effect with his Majesty's ministers; and that another, to take the same route by the Cape of Good Hope, but to be conducted by the public, was preferred to it. As I was abroad, I do not know the circumstances of the disappointment: But I must do the justice to one dead person and one living one to say, that I never heard the gentlemen make the least complaint of Lord George Germaine or of Lord North. The last letter that I received on this subject from Mr. Glasford, of date the 10th of December, informing me of an account that Mr. Steuart wrote of what passed at one of his meetings with Lord George, contains the following words: "Mr. Steuart says, that nothing could be more proper, and more cordial, than the reception which Lord George gave to the subject of our letters."

I have sometimes talked of the above project to Sir Joseph Banks, who observed, that since the discovery of the Sandwich Islands by Captain Cook, in his last voyage, such adventures are become much more easy; because, in these islands, the adventurers will find places of refuge for their ships, provisions for their crews, strong stations in which to lodge their plunder, from whence they may return to get more, and inhabitants in the islands to assist their seamen in sailing either to the east or the west.

The Spaniards are abundantly conscious of their danger in the South Seas: For, when I was once taking the liberty to say to Count Florida Blanca, the King of

Spain's first minister, that the Americans, who were bound neither by treaty nor by fear not to injure Spain, would find their way by the Cape of Good Hope into the South Seas, and was describing to him the state of the winds and passages, he said, "Je sçai tout cela
 "aussi bien que vous." "I know all that as well
 "as you *."

* Since publishing the first edition of these Memoirs, I have learnt the circumstances of the above expedition. It was planned and proposed to the cabinet ministers by Colonel Fullarton of Fullarton, who acted in conjunction with the late Colonel (then Major) Mackenzie Humberstone, the first of whom had never been in the army, both representatives of families among the most ancient of their country, young, generous, spirited, gay, and scholars. They raised 2,000 men at their own expence with unusual dispatch, and involved their estates to a very large amount, by preparations for the expedition, agreeably to the terms on which government had adopted the proposal. The object of it was, an attack upon the coast of Mexico; the troops were to sail to Madras, and to be joined there by a body of Sikars, who were to proceed with them to one of the Luconia islands, in order to refresh the men; and then to make for the coast of Mexico, in the track of the Acapulca ships. Lord George Germaine added to this idea, the idea of another expedition to the Spanish main; which was, to go across to the South Sea, and join that on the coast of Mexico; and there is no doubt that if the junction had been made, Spain must have instantly sued for peace. But the unexpected breaking out of the Dutch war obliged the expedition intended for Mexico, to be sent upon an attack on the Cape of Good Hope; and when that was found improper, it was employed in the war of India, where Colonel Mackenzie bravely fell in his country's cause. His friend returned on the peace, covered with laurels, to defend her liberties in the senate.

A P P E N D I X.

Nº II.

LETTER to CAPTAIN ROBARTS from one of his FRIENDS, on the SUBJECT of an EXPEDITION into the SOUTH SEAS.

WHEN I was at Lisbon, I was very intimate with Captain Robarts, who commanded a line of battle ship in the Portuguese service. He told me, that he once had the idea of making an expedition from England into the South Seas; and gave me a letter which he had received on that subject from a naval friend, whose advice he had asked. I now print the letter. I am so unlucky as to have forgot the name of its writer, which is torn away. But I have lodged the letter with the editor, in hopes that persons who are better acquainted with the hand-writings of sea-officers than I am, may perhaps discover who wrote it.

“ DEAR SIR, Portsmouth, March 17, 1762.

“ Although I have not had so much leisure time in the
“ Downs as I expected, I have nevertheless thrown to-
“ gether what at present occurs to me on a plan of what
“ might be done, with two ships of sixty and thirty-six
“ guns and seven hundred men, in the South Seas:
“ What I say, you will take as hints to be considered of
“ at your leisure: On comparing the different accounts
“ in the books I shall hereafter mention, you will un-

“doubtedly form a more perfect one: I can only talk on
 “what I recollect of them imperfectly.

“I suppose you mean to complete your provisions and
 “ship’s companies in Ireland.

“On every account, I think you should get out as
 “early in the summer as possible. The first rendezvous
 “and watering-place might be St. Jago. Your own
 “knowledge of it hinders me from saying any more
 “than that I suppose it would sufficiently answer these
 “purposes, and be as concealed a place as any you
 “could go to. From thence, if possible, you should
 “carry a sufficient quantity of water, not to be under
 “the necessity of touching at any place before you reach
 “the Falkland islands. But I would first endeavour to
 “make Pepys island in 47° south, as described by Cow-
 “ley; it affords every kind of refreshment sufficient.
 “The Falkland isles would be my resource, if I could
 “not find that. I should go to the eastward of Staten
 “Land; but I do not imagine it would be necessary to
 “go into so high a latitude as Robins talks of, to make
 “the passage round Cape Horn. If you get out soon,
 “have the favourable passage you may expect at this
 “time of the year, and meet with refreshment at the
 “Pepys or Falkland isles, you might perhaps be able to
 “go upon service immediately on your arrival in the
 “South Seas: You should, notwithstanding, I think,
 “appoint Juan Fernandez as the last rendezvous, and
 “refresh there, should you not lose company, which I
 “think you need not much apprehend.

“I shall suppose you may be ready to leave Juan Fer-
 “nandez, and enter upon your plan of action before
 “the end of December. The plan I should take would
 “be perhaps a less profitable, but a much less pre-
 “carious one, than that of staking the whole success of
 “the voyage on the hopes of meeting the galleon; and
 “which

“ which you would at that time be too late for inter-
“ cepting on her passage from Manilla. Valparaíso is
“ the port of the capital of Chili; the exportations
“ from thence are not perhaps very valuable, but bought
“ principally with gold from Peru. The fort, I am
“ afraid, would be too strong for you, at least take up
“ too much time. My plan would be to stand boldly
“ into the road, and board every ship in it; take bul-
“ lion, and what else you found valuable or serviceable
“ into your own ships; ransom or destroy the bottoms
“ and gruff cargoes, without losing any time; and
“ stand directly down the coast, with the south-west
“ winds (which reign at that time of the year) for
“ Arica, which I should look upon as the principal
“ object. It is true there are several roads and open
“ towns on the coast between; but I should be too
“ much afraid of risking the surprisal of Arica, to stop
“ any where, unless the intelligence procured at Val-
“ paraíso induced me to change my measures. I would
“ contrive to go into Arica road soon after day-light,
“ land probably to the northward of the town, and
“ during the disembarkation of the first division, send
“ the second to take possession of the ships in the road,
“ with orders to leave a small but sufficient guard aboard
“ of each, before they landed to reinforce the first,
“ which probably would facilitate their disembarkation
“ nearer. This, on the supposition that there may be
“ works constructed to prevent an enemy's landing in
“ the front of the town.

“ What I here propose would require some military
“ knowledge and activity (I think there is a field in
“ that part of the world, with a small force, for a great
“ deal of both); also more boats than are usually carried
“ in ships, and those of a construction for carrying a
“ number of men with expedition, and landing where a
“ little

“ little surf in some places may be expected. Flat-
 “ bottomed rowing boats of different sizes would stow
 “ within each other; you might if necessary take in,
 “ or tow down the coast some of the prize boats taken
 “ at Valparaíso or elsewhere. Some small petards with
 “ wheel-barrow carriages for them, some howitzers, and
 “ some light brass field-pieces, might be of great use.

“ There is a probability, I think, of making a very
 “ considerable capture at Arica. From your intelli-
 “ gence there, and at Valparaíso, you could be able to
 “ form your future plan; whether you were of sufficient
 “ force to seize what will be lying in Callao road;
 “ whether attempt the places to the northward of Lima;
 “ or cruise off Acapulco for the galleon returning to
 “ Manilla, if you were near her time of leaving Ame-
 “ rica. You might perhaps from your intelligence find
 “ it of service, immediately on having secured posses-
 “ sion of Arica, to dispatch one ship down the coast, as
 “ far as Camana or Ocona, with orders to return to
 “ Arica, or wait to be joined, as judged most con-
 “ venient. I should think you might, if the war con-
 “ tinues, find advantageous employment on the coast of
 “ Chili, Peru, and Mexico (including the time ne-
 “ cessary at places of refreshment, accounts of which
 “ you find in all the books), to remain on that side,
 “ until the time of cruising off Cape St. Lucas in Cali-
 “ fornia, for the galleon from Manilla, I suppose early
 “ in November, or sooner, to secure being on that sta-
 “ tion before she has passed it. The King of Spain’s
 “ orders are, that she sail from Manilla on the 24th of
 “ June, and from Acapulco on the 25th of March;
 “ but I believe she is sometimes a month later.—If
 “ the galleon on her voyage from Manilla fall into your
 “ hands, you might possibly sell a very considerable part
 “ of her cargo privately to the Spaniards of Peru and
 “ Chili:

“ Chili: The best way to dispose of the rest, in my
“ opinion, would be bringing or sending it round Cape
“ Horn.

“ Should you miss her in America, or not make a suf-
“ ficient capture there to answer your expectations; your
“ last resource would be a cruise for her in Asia, either
“ off Guam or the Philippines: And in that case Macao
“ would be the best port for refreshment, and perhaps
“ offer an opportunity of intercepting the Spanish trade
“ between the Philippines and China.

“ The books that may afford you some lights, are
“ Harris’s Collection of Voyages, D’Ulloa, and Don
“ Geo. Juan’s Voyage de l’Ameriques, Hist. des Na-
“ vigations aux Terres Australes, Anson’s, Frezier’s,
“ Rogers’, Cook’s, Dampier’s, Funnel’s, Sharp’s,
“ Betagh’s, Shelvocke’s, Sir John Narborough’s, Pere
“ Feuillee’s, History of Buccaneers.

“ I inclose to you three Spanish charts, the river of
“ Plata, of St. Martha, and of Vera Cruz; which is
“ all the manuscript particular plans I have, that I think
“ you can possibly use, should you think of keeping on
“ this side.

“ I shall be very happy if what I have here said proves
“ in the least useful to you. What might be proposed,
“ according to different seasons and situations in so very
“ large a field, could not be comprised in many letters.

“ I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.”

A P P E N D I X.

Nº III.

PROJECT of an EXPEDITION to the Coast of JUCATAN and of HONDURAS.

BEFORE stating this project, four observations must be premised :

I. The coast on the bay of Honduras is extremely unhealthy, because low, swampy, and flooded in the rainy seasons ; but less unhealthy in our summer months. The north coast of Jucatan is healthy, because it is high and dry. The register ships lie, in time of war, under the protection of fort Omoah, during part of our summer months, to receive their cargoes in the least unhealthy season ; each of whose cargoes of indigo and other valuable articles is worth 200,000*l.* independent of the treasure brought to them from Guatemala, where there is a royal mint.

II. Fort Omoah on the land side is defended by a broad ditch, a curtain, and bastions ; from which circumstance it is exceedingly dangerous on that side to attack it by storm, and almost impossible to take it by siege, because the troops would die in the course of the siege. To the sea it has no ditch, or bastions, but only a demi-lune mounting 18 twenty-four pounders, which comes down almost to the water's edge, where there is a safe landing for boats. The battery is 28 feet high. The nights being equal in length to the day in that latitude, are very long and dark. From the height of the battery,

battery, and its having no flanks to the sea, it follows, that, even in the day time, guns would have little chance of hitting boats in advancing, and could not touch them at all when they came below the battery, and that in a dark night the boats in both cases would be perfectly safe. The same circumstances make it not difficult to cut out the register ships in the night time, even when lying under the cannon of the fort. There are also positions on the sides of the bay from whence the register ships might be reached by guns.

III. European troops on the Spanish main keep their health and spirits for a month or six weeks, after which they infallibly die away. Negroes enjoy health perfectly well at all times, because they are habituated to hot climates, and to live on any food. The Spaniards use almost no other troops there: And some attempts on the Spanish main at the end of last war, in which black troops were made use of, prove that they may be formed into very good soldiers. Monsieur Suffrein, in the East Indies, in the late war, had a large number of negroes on board, to work his guns; and the French artillery by land were, and are now, worked by them there. Hyder Ally, in the late war in India, had whole regiments composed of Caffree negroes, and his successor has a fixed number of them in almost every company. The Coromantee nation, of whom three hundred are sometimes brought in one ship to Jamaica, are brave to excess. If the Spanish dominions in the New World, on the side next to Europe, shall ever be conquered, it will be by an army composed of Africans, who will repay upon one European nation, the injuries which they have received from all the rest.

Lastly, The merchant ships go generally from Britain to Jamaica empty without cargoes, or nearly so, and
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they generally go out in the middle of the spring, and return in winter with their cargoes.

On these data, in the month of December 1781, I presented a project to Lord George Germaine, for an expedition upon the coasts of Honduras and Jucatan, by a junction of privateers and of a few land forces, which consisted of the following particulars :

That a few merchants, whose secrecy could be depended upon, should fit out five or six stout privateers, to sail to Jamaica from Britain in the month of April, with 600 troops, in order to be certain of carrying on to the expedition 500 of the best of them. Government to furnish the provisions, but the merchants to charge no freight; by which the public would save 12,000*l.* in freight, and yet the merchants lose nothing, because they must at any rate have sailed without freight. The ships to be armed partly with large and light carronades, with their carriages stowed in the ships, in order that they might be turned at pleasure into trains of artillery. The merchants to carry out an assortment of goods fit for trading with on the Spanish main.

Five hundred negroes, with a promise of liberty for good behaviour, to be formed in Jamaica, in the course of the winter, into regular companies, and trained like the seapoys in India; in order to be ready to be joined to the troops when they arrived in Jamaica.

These two bodies should run down, in a few days, to the bay of Honduras, to attack Fort Omoah. They should attack the fort on the side of the sea, by a landing of boats in a dark night under the battery, and mounting it by scaling ladders. If the blow was missed, or while it was making, the armament should attempt to cut out the register ships in the dark; and if that blow was also missed, the large carronades should go up the bay to such stations

stations as could reach the register ships, in order to force them to a ransom, rather than to be destroyed.

Part of the armament to be left at Fort Omoah, if taken, or Baccalar, or some other port on the coast of the bay, or on the islands nearest, in order to continue the war against the Spaniards, and to protect the bay men, and a private trade in those parts.

The rest of the armament to proceed to the north of Yucatan, before their expedition in the bay could be known, land in the bay of Sizal, which is large and open, and attack Sizal the sea port of Merida, which is open behind, and would fall without a stroke, where there are always vast quantities of valuable goods stored up in warehouses ready for exportation.—While one part of the armament was settling the contribution of that town, another part should march to Merida, the capital of the province, to lay it under contribution. The province being full of horses and mules, this could be done almost in an instant: And the train of light carronades loaded with canister, would save the troops against all danger from any trifling force which could be brought against them.—The armament to run along the rest of the north coast of Yucatan, where are many rich towns, and all open, as long as the healths of the men should continue to be good.

Lastly, The ships to sail to Jamaica with their plunder, in order to take in their own ordinary cargoes, in the common season, in Jamaica, and return with them to Britain.

Government to insure the ships; and the plunder to be divided between the troops, the crews, and the merchants, according to articles previously to be agreed upon.

I wrote Mr. Glassford from London what I had done, and asked his opinion of the adventure, and whether he

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would.

would engage in it? His answer was, "That if the
" King's servants would be explicit and determinate in
" their answer, and give it in two, or at most three
" weeks, in order to afford sufficient time for purchasing
" the ships, and making other preparations, he would
" find friends to execute the whole of the privateering
" part of the business." He also informed me of a
thing which surprised me a good deal, that though the
share of the contributions was a considerable object to
merchants, yet the selling the articles carried from Bri-
tain on the Spanish main was a far greater; and that the
trade was so well understood, that it could be carried pri-
vately on, at the very time, and in the very places, where
the soldiers were laying the coast under contribution.

Lord George Germaine said, that it was impossible for
him to give an answer to be depended upon in so short
time as the merchants required. In consequence of
which, the adventure was no more thought of by them
or by me,

A P P E N D I X.

N^o IV.

WEAKNESS OF THE RIVER LA PLATA.

DURING the time that I was at Lisbon, or in Spain, which was above half a year, there was only one ship that arrived in Spain from the river La Plata. The cargoes of the rest were lying on board in that river from the time that hostilities with England had been dreaded: And the cargo of each ship, as they are very large in that trade, was upon an average worth 80,000*l*. The same kind of embargo takes place in every Spanish war, not only there, but in almost all the Spanish dominions in the New World; because the Spaniards have not fleets sufficient to conduct a war, and convoy their trade at the same time.

The unhealthiness of the Spanish dominions on the side of America next to Europe, or, as it is commonly called, on the north sea of Spanish America, is owing chiefly to two circumstances;—the exhalations from immense ranges of forests, and the violent heat of the sun: For when extreme moisture and extreme heat meet, disease and death will soon follow. But the river La Plata is subject to neither of those extremes; for, lying in much the same latitude with Lisbon, it enjoys one of the finest climates in the world, and no forests are to be found but at a vast distance from its banks. Hence the chief city Buenos Ayres takes its name from the purity of
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of its air. I was told by the late Captain Robarts, who was a man of very superior understanding and information, and who had commanded one of the ships which made the expedition from the Tagus into the river Plata, at the end of the war before last, that nothing protected the possessions of the Spaniards there, from the mouth of the river up to 150 miles beyond Buenos Ayres, but the shallowness of the banks, and in some places of the bed of the river, which last was not known to British seamen, which made it difficult, if not impossible for ships of size to reach them; but that the fortifications were contemptible beyond measure, being composed of high mud walls, because there was no stone in the country, like those of the old Moorish towns in Spain, which the poorest shot could beat down.

These circumstances make the river La Plata in an especial manner the proper sphere of privateers, which dare not land in unhealthy climates, because the loss of a few of their few hands would ruin the adventure. And the invention of the carronades, which, from their lightness, require no bullocks or horses to draw them, and of the double ship worked by wheels in time of calm or contrary winds, which can land almost wherever a pinnace can land, removes all the difficulties arising from the shallowness of the bed, and of the banks of the river.

Expeditions into the river La Plata have this advantage, that if they fail of success there, they may proceed to the South Seas, and if they fail of success in these, they may proceed to the Philippines.

A P P E N D I X.

N^o V.

COMPARATIVE EXPENCE BETWEEN WHITE AND BLACK TROOPS IN HOT CLIMATES.

IN several passages of this publication, I have insisted upon the policy of conducting the war in hot climates, by natives of Africa. I shall here consider the expediency of such a measure in the view of national œconomy. Of an English regiment in actual service of war in the West Indies, four parts die every year of disease; and therefore, to that extent it must be continually recruited. On this calculation a body of 1,000 men, to be kept up for five years, will require 4,000 recruits. The freight of 5,000 men, with their stores, at 20*l.* a man, officers excluded, amounts to 100,000*l.*; levy money at 5*l.* to 25,000*l.*; clothing at 3*l.* for 1,000 men for five years, and 4,000 men for one year, to 27,000*l.*; besides many other expences which attend English troops, that would not be required for black troops; freight of 1,000 English troops home at the end of the war, 20,000*l.*; *inde*, in all, 172,000*l.* Add to this, the loss of the industry of 1,000 British subjects, yearly, for five years, valued at 20*l.* 100,000*l.*; and the loss of the industry for ever of 4,000 British subjects, who died, valued at seven years purchase, which is a low enough calculation for men in the prime of life, such as recruits to regiments commonly are, 560,000*l.*;
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inde, 660,000*l.*; the whole together making 832,000*l.* But the purchase of 1,000 negroes in Jamaica, at 40*l.* each, with 100 every year, for five years, to keep up the number, which is a very large allowance, would be 60,000*l.*; clothing at forty shillings a year, 11,000*l.*; *inde*, in all, 71,000*l.* The balance in saving would be 761,000*l.*: And on 10,000 black troops, which, with the help of a very few thousand English and American troops, could conquer all the possessions of France and Spain in the new western world, would be a saving of above seven millions and a half.

In this calculation I have not taken into my view, that the pay of 1,000 English troops every year is 20,000*l.*; whereas black troops might be paid at one-half, or, perhaps, one-fourth of the expence, in the same way as the black troops are paid in India; and my reason for not taking the difference into the calculation is, that it is impossible for a nation to pay even black men too high who conquer empires for them.

To what I have said on the policy of the measure of using black troops in hot climates, I have only to add, that I have heard from several officers, whose spirit of observation I can trust, that, when the negroes of the Coromantee nation come first to Jamaica, they are found to be so accustomed to martial exercises, that they can march, keep their ranks, run on, or run off in a seeming disorder; yet stop, advance, rally, or retreat in a real order. The conclusion to be drawn from the fact is obvious.

The saving of money in the above calculations, when applied to the East Indies, is still more considerable; because the Portuguese delivered negroes from Mozambique to Tippto Saib, on the coast of Malabar, for 100 rupees a-piece, which is about ten pounds, and because a year is lost to the English troops in going and coming from India, during which time they are performing no service.

A P P E N D I X.

N^o VI.

R E F L E C T I O N S.

THE expeditions of England in this century, to the Spanish dominions in the New World, have been chiefly directed against the islands, or against that side of the continent which lies next to Europe: That is to say, we have attacked Spain in the New World, as we have France through Flanders, by taking, as the old Duke of Schomberg used to say with regard to a war in Flanders, the bull by the horns; attacks, considering the climates in which they were made, and the strength of the fortifications to be carried, which required great fleets and armies, the very greatness of which insured the destruction of both, by the creation and dissemination of disease, and were attended with a vast loss of money, and of the most valuable lives in the nation. But expeditions to the South Seas, to the coast of Jucatan, and to the river La Plata, require no armies, no royal fleets, little expence, and risk few lives. They can be executed by private merchants as well as by the greatest state, and much more profitably for the public by the former; because the public pays the whole expence of the King's ships of war, when yet the officers and men get the whole plunder: whereas in privateers the merchants, not the public, would bear almost the whole expence; because they would probably ask no

more of government, than to have their ships and furniture insured.

Let me suppose that three privateers, on the principles which the Glasgow gentlemen went upon in their intended expedition to the South Seas, should go into those seas; three more to the coast of Jucatan; and three more to the river La Plata. The expence of the three expeditions, upon our calculations, would not exceed 96,000*l.* and probably would be a third less, because the expeditions to Jucatan and La Plata taking so much less time than an expedition into the South Seas, would be done at half the expence of our intended expedition there. I remember that in estimating the expence of our insurance, we supposed it would be equal to a third of the adventure; and the Glasgow gentlemen said they would stand insurers themselves at that premium. Then the expence of the three expeditions would cost the public at most 32,000*l.* and perhaps only two-thirds of that sum.—If to these three expeditions undertaken by private persons, there was added a march of 500 English, and 1,000 black troops, from the bay of Honduras, by Guatimala, to take possession of Sonsonata in the South Seas, during almost all of which route the passages are good, the climate healthy, and horses or mules numerous; and an expedition from the East Indies, either to the Philippines, or to Chili, or Mexico, according as circumstances should present themselves, undertaken either by the public, or by private persons there (which last is not impossible, because I have been told by East Indian gentlemen, who had no interest to deceive me, that if they had known of the expedition from Glasgow, they would have met it with another): Then, I say, that these expeditions would shake the whole Spanish monarchy in those parts of the world, at a less expence to
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the public, than is required to maintain a war for a month in Germany or Flanders.

Spain is at present a tool in the hands of the ambition of France, by the artifice of the family compact, which makes a generous but unpolitic prince prefer the interest of his family to that of his people, and by the constraint under which France holds Spain from the easy access into Catalonia and Valentia, which she has contrived for herself by her passage across the Pyrennees. But it is in the power of England to hold a far more powerful constraint over Spain: For, the late invention of the ear-ronade gun, which by its lightness can be carried by the hands of men through swamps, over mountains, and to the tops of commanding heights, added to the invention of the double ship which goes with any wind or with no wind, and can land on any coast, puts it in the power of England, whenever she pleases, to force the King of Spain either to quit his family compact, or to lose, at least as long as the war lasted, the benefits of his foreign empire.

I conclude with an observation of much consequence. Knowledge of the public history of past days, and of some *private history* in my own day, make me certain, that many noble attempts and designs have been disappointed from want of an act of parliament to regulate the division of the shares of plunder between the fleet and the army, and between the members of those bodies among themselves: And until that act of parliament shall be made, such attempts and designs will for ever be disappointed. The minister who applies the remedy, will be repaid by the thanks of his country, and by the glory of the first war in which the nation shall be engaged.

A P P E N D I X.

Nº VII.

*Practicability of an INCORPORATED UNION with Ireland,
and of a FEDERAL UNION with America.*

*Plans of Fletcher of Salton, and Mareſchal Earl of Stair.
—Incorporated Union with Ireland. —Federal with
America. —The laſt neceſſary to America and Britain.
—The firſt to Britain and Ireland. —Anecdote. —
Power of Britain, Ireland, America, and Holland com-
bined.*

THE late Mr. Fletcher of the houſe of commons once put into my hands, as related in common with him to Mr. Fletcher of Salton, whoſe family he repreſented, a treatiſe on the Union of States, which he found among the papers of his anceſtor, but not written with his hand, deſiring my opinion whether it was his compoſition. I thought that it was. Afterwards I found a copy of this paper in the advocates library, and on it, in the hand writing of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, librarian, who was the cotemporary of Mr. Fletcher, and eminent for hiſtorical erudition, induſtry, and accuracy, the following note, “ ſuppoſed to be written by the Laird of
“ Salton *.”

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* Mr. Fletcher's ſtyle is eaſily known, becauſe every word has a precise meaning, and diſtinct from any other in the ſentence; the ſtructure of the ſentence is as ſimple, but as varied as that which is uſed in private converſation.

The view of this paper was to show, that an incorporated union between England and Scotland would prove ruinous to the last of these countries; whereas a federal union would aggrandise both, provided the power of the crown was kept within proper limitations; and what these were, he had formerly defined in the bill which he carried into the Scots parliament, under the title of Bill of Limitations; to wit, that parliament should be the King's only council, be chosen annually, debate in public, but vote by ballot; that all acts passed in parliament should be laws, though the King consented not to them; that, in the intervals of parliament, a committee of it should be the King's council, and responsible to parliament; that the gift of all places, civil and military, and of pensions, and the power of pardoning offences against the public, should be in parliament alone; that no forces should be kept on foot without its consent; and that a general militia should be regularly trained, and kept on foot. I printed Mr. Fletcher's paper in the first edition of the present work; because I never saw or heard of any copy of it except these two.

The late marshal, Earl of Stair, once formed a plan for the administration of America, part of which is now in the books of the board of trade. The general outline of this plan was, that a governor, and a station of government, should be appointed in Ame-

sation; the method in his composition is perfectly regular, but artfully concealed; and one singularity in his reasoning is, that the arguments are placed in an order to derive force from what went before, and to give force to what comes after, so as to seem to grow out of each other. But, above all, when he is animated with passion, his flashes are sometimes as quick as lightning, and sometimes followed by a thunder of period: All which mark an original genius, but made chaste by the reading of the ancients. The volume of his works is unequally collected, and his discourse on the affairs of Spain is a poor translation from the Italian, in which he wrote it.

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rica, to which the delegates of the provinces should resort in regular convention; that, from this station, communications should be established, to the different provinces, by roads and passages of vessels; that a strong military force should be kept at the seat of government, to defend against enemies, to check rebellion, and enforce the laws, but not to be distributed through the provinces to enslave, or to have a chance of enslaving the people; that the American convention should make their own laws, and regulate their own affairs, and should raise and pay their own troops; but that the union of force between the two countries should be complete, because, in the case of a war against either, they were to have the same friends and foes.

The ideas of able men generally lead to light: Let us see how the matter in these projects would apply to the questions of an incorporated union with Ireland, and of a federal union with the American states.

The first part of Mr. Fletcher's plan, the federal union, would have brought Scotland to the same situation in which Ireland has, within these few years, been placed, or rather by her spirit, has placed herself; that is to say, the parliament of Scotland would have been independent of the parliament of England. The second part of his plan, the limitations of the rights of sovereignty, would have put Scotland nearly in the present situation of America, by making her independent of the sovereign of England. But in both cases, a war between England and Scotland must have been inevitable. Fletcher saw it, is reported to have laid his account with it, and his writings show that he despised it: For, as his spirit was high, and the provocation about Darien recent, he thought the danger worth running, in order to gain independence to Scotland, believing that the same strong form of the country, and the same valour of the people, which

which had protected Scotland during so many centuries from England, would protect her for ever.

The present federal union between Ireland and Britain, even without the attempts of Ireland to obtain limitations upon monarchy similar to those of Mr. Fletcher, will, in the same way, sooner or later, lead to a war between Britain and Ireland; and nothing but an incorporated union, by which I mean an union of parliaments, trade, and taxes, can prevent it. But a federal union of Britain with America, will lead to no such consequence, even although the sovereignty of the crown be now thrown off. And if hostilities between England and America shall, by a federal union, be in future times prevented, the beneficial consequences, to both nations, of amity made perpetual by a fair federal union, will be so immense, as to be worth almost all the blood and treasure that has perhaps led invisibly to it.

These are the ideas which I wish to develope in the present paper.

INCORPORATED UNION WITH IRELAND.

Two trading nations, combined in a federal union, under one sovereign, may continue for ever, enriching and strengthening each other, in amity, provided three circumstances intervene.—The *first* is, when the productions of the two countries are different, and exchangeable with each other, to create mutual love by mutual interest. It has cost a vast deal of trouble to England to make the Spaniards hate the English; yet still they do not. If, in ancient times, the crowns of Spain and England had fallen under one head (which might have happened if there had been issue from Philip of Spain and Mary of England), and the nations been
linked

linked together by a federal union, under the protection of the assemblies of the ancient Cortes in Spain, and of parliaments in England, that union might have lasted until this day, notwithstanding all the oppositions of religion; because the wines, oils, fruits, silks, and short wool of Old Spain, and the finer metals from New Spain, and the southern articles of importation from thence, would have been continually exchanging for the manufactures, the long wool, the coarser metals of Britain, and the northern articles of importation from British America.—The *second* circumstance is, when the two countries are at a distance from each other, to prevent the frequent opportunities which vicinity presents for nations to quarrel. No difference has ever happened between England and Hanover, because they are separated by a great sea and part of a continent. If England and Turkey were united under one head, the world would probably end before they would fight with each other.—The *last* circumstance is, when the offices of government and the armies of each country are supplied not from the other, but from itself, so as to create no suspicion of the partiality of the common sovereign, or of his undue influence, and no dread of his outrages. The family of Philip II. might still have possessed all the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, if that prince had not filled all the places of trust there with Spanish civilians, and all the garrison towns with Spanish infantry.

Now these three circumstances, necessary to insure amity, are wanting in the present state of the federal union between Ireland and Britain.

1st, The productions of the two countries being the same, the Irish husbandman, manufacturer, and trader, is the rival of the English husbandman, manufacturer, and trader; and each separate parliament will encourage the

the industry of its own country, and discourage that of the other. It has required all the nice policy of King William, and all the temper of the princes of the Hanover family, to prevent mutual complaints on those heads from breaking forth into mutual violence. The late discussion of the Irish propositions, may shew the extreme lengths to which the suspicion of advantages gained, or only, possibly, to be gained, by the one country over the other, may extend themselves: And all attempts, by all the wit of man, to secure amity by mutual concessions, made in commercial treaties, are in vain; because the circumstances of manufacture and trade, in the same latitude of the same part of the world, are continually varying, and the nation which first loses by that variation, will first elude, and in the end break the treaty. It is not probable that the commercial treaty with France will stand long; because France, by receiving the woollen, iron, cotton, and pottery manufactures of England, that is to say, the four staples of England, has given every thing, and got no suitable equivalent in return. *2dly*, The circumstance of vicinity between Ireland and England, will inflame the passions of individuals by the immediate sight of the advantages, real or imaginary, which the one kingdom shall enjoy, or seem to enjoy, over the other in the union, and by the envy and animosity of all neighbouring nations against each other. And *lastly*, The filling Irish offices of trust with Englishmen, and sending English troops to Ireland, will be, as it always has been, a continual subject of complaint and jealousy to the Irish; because they will suspect undue influence in the one case, and dread military compulsion in the other. If in these circumstances, and under separate and independent legislatures, peace shall long continue between Ireland and England, it will be the only in-

stance of the kind known in history, since the beginning of the world.

There is one, and but one, engine to break the force of those circumstances: an incorporated union; by which I repeat, that I mean an union of parliaments, trade, and taxes. When that is obtained, then all the fears of the Scots, at the time of their union, and of the ablest of them all, Mr. Fletcher, in his above-mentioned paper, that their forty-five members would be outvoted by above 450 English members, in all questions which related to the interests of Scotland, will be found as vain in Ireland as they have proved to be in Scotland; because, the profits of trade and the burdens of taxes being common to both nations, there can be no rivalry, except in the exertions of industry; nor could the united parliament hurt the husbandman, manufacturer, or trader of the one kingdom, without injuring that common stock, the aggregate of which is made up from the prosperity of every part of the dominion, to which all contribute, and in which all share.—The line of vicinity would disappear (if I may use such an expression) in the line of identity.—And the distinction between Irishman and Englishman being lost in the high character of citizens of the British islands, it would signify little, except to a few individuals, from what part of those islands the persons came, who were entrusted with power, civil and military; because these persons would have all the inducements of common service and common interest, to make them use with discretion the powers committed to their charge, and none to abuse them.—But above all, the suspicions and animosities, which continually prevail in separate assemblies of separate nations, would cease in the united assembly of one nation, even when the bitter truth was alternately explained, that partial evil is sometimes general good.

FEDERAL UNION WITH AMERICA.

The dangers which attend a federal union between Ireland and Britain, do not attend a federal union between America and Britain; because the causes of them do not exist in the relative situations of the two countries. For the interests of the husbandman, manufacturer and trader in America, do not interfere with those of the husbandman, manufacturer and trader in Britain; as the productions of the two countries are not only different, but naturally exchangeable with each other; or where they are the same, the distance is so unequal, that they cannot be rivals in the same markets. *Secondly*, The Atlantic ocean between us, removes all chance of animosity that might arise from the circumstances of vicinity. And, *lastly*, as England has not a single regiment in the dominions of the states, nor the disposal of a single office, nor even a party in the country, it is impossible that she should exert either military force, or undue influence, or sow divisions there. The causes of disunion then being removed, the chain of a federal union stretched across the Atlantic, between the English and their still beloved countrymen, might be as eternal, as the ocean that seems to separate, but in reality tends indissolubly to unite them.

America would, by the union, not only gain protection in war, that protection which has often saved her, and a renewal of the favours to her trade, those favours which have enriched her; but what is far more material to her than either, she would be enabled to enforce her own constitution and laws. In vain would have been the principle of virtue in ancient republics, of honour in some modern monarchies, and of liberty in England; in vain the prophecies of Mahomet, and the

Necessary
for Ame-
rica.

prayers of Cromwell; and in vain, even the sublime conceptions of Sir Thomas More, and Mr. Harrington, if there had not been, or was not to be, a military force, either of armies or of militias, to hold their fabrics of government together. It is no secret to mankind, that the lightness of the American states in the scale of nations, at a time when they should have felt their weight the most, in the hour immediately after victory and glory, arises from their supreme power being possessed neither of authority nor of force. They present a new spectacle in history; a great empire, possessed by a great people, who acknowledge no government, and obey no law. The consequence of which is, that all modern nations stand aloof from them, as the ancient nations did from the rocks of Scylla and Charybdis. But their supreme power would, by a federal union with Britain, be strengthened in the imaginations of their subjects; and being entitled, by the terms of it, to ask assistance equally against enemies and rebels, they could command that reality of power to protect their constitution, and enforce its regulations, without which no government, at least no great government, ever did, or ever can stand.

But to accomplish those ends with effect, it would be necessary not to stop at the plan of Mr. Fletcher, but to join to it that of the marshal Earl of Stair; and therefore to add to the federal union, a presiding executive officer named by England, to be the key-stone of the arch of amity between the two countries; no matter whether he be the representative of the King, or of the parliament, or of the people of England; and no matter whether the person appointed by England, from time to time, was an Englishman or was an American, and whether he bore the inoffending title of Legate, or the conciliating one of Mediator, or the more commanding one (which

(which the Americans seem to like better) of President of the Council of the States, provided his power be properly defined and limited. Whatever his title be, he could not fail to be the guardian of the union, because it is the interest of his country, that that union should be immortal. He could not intrigue with parties in America, where England has no party, nor bribe with places where she has none to give, nor enslave with troops and officers that are not her own. In such a situation, it would be impossible for him to do mischief: But he might do much good; because he could mediate, reconcile, explain, and by the very circumstance that all his moves would be made in a public assembly, might prevent those differences between the two countries, which ambassadors, acting in private, and who therefore cannot be detected, often foment from temper or design. His glory during his life, his fame after his death, his claims upon the gratitude of his country, would all depend upon his success in promoting peace and friendship between two nations, whose common ruin is involved in their common discord.

The present disorders of the Americans, and their attempts to procure order, by contriving a plan of a constitution, in which a presiding executive officer makes a chief part, shew the consciousness of the necessity of such an officer, appointed some way or other, by some body or other. They see it, they feel it: And therefore the only question (if Americans will, for a moment, suspend their passions, and allow such a question to be discussed by their ordinary good sense), is, whether it be best for America, that that officer be appointed from England, or be elected in America.

If he be elected in America (as the present plan of government in agitation in America proposes), then one of two alternatives will follow: The first, and most probable

probable is, that the new projected constitution will not execute itself at all; but like the union of the Germanic body, will appear in books of public law, and no where else. The States, having no immediate pressing common interest, will fall asunder from each other like a rope of sand, and congress be worse attended than ever. For why, except in cases of common and extreme danger, real or imagined, such as united Greece against Xerxes, Germany against Lewis XIV. and America against the stamp act of England, should deputies from Georgia leave their families, and sail through a great ocean to go to New York, in order to lay taxes on their own state, to carry on the affairs of twelve other states, in which they have no immediate interest? If the Irish object, at present, to an incorporation of parliaments with England, because their members would be obliged to cross only a narrow channel, what but some strong impulsive cause could make American deputies cross a great ocean, or a great continent? That strong impulsive cause is to be found in an union with Britain alone. For, to make the union of a number of small states lasting, there must not only be a principle of connection among themselves, such as that of common liberty, but there must be also a principle of connection, such as that of common interest, with a friendly protecting great state, in whose glories they participate, whose protection they enjoy, but whose enmity they fear not.

But if the American confederacy moulders away, then America will dwindle down into thirteen small independent states, in which every nation in Europe will intrigue, and which will be engaged in continual wars with each other, and with other nations. The scenes of the Peloponnesian war, which lasted above twenty years, and of the religious war in Germany, which lasted above forty, will be repeated on the plains of America,

But

But if, contrary to all probability, the plan of a constitution now in agitation in America, should really execute itself, then the other alternative will follow, that the presiding executive officer will be elected, as every such officer has been, ever since the world began, by the intrigues and factions, and perhaps violence, of his own countrymen. To which will be added, all the intrigues of France, whether they arise from officiousness, or from mischievousness of disposition; a disposition which led the late Duke de Choiseul to lay out in one year fourteen millions of livres, in order to throw divisions into Sweden; which has marked the negotiations of France for three centuries back, with the corruption of individuals, and the dissension of nations in every country that has been connected with her; and which is favoured by the very form of her government, because a rich sovereign there, is not, like the sovereign of England, accountable to his people for the money which he receives from his people. But this presiding executive officer (whether the first who is elected, or one of his successors, is immaterial) will naturally govern by that home faction, or that foreign King, who raised him into eminence. At the end of the four years (the period at which his administration is to end, upon the plan of the constitution now in agitation in America), it will be his and their interest, that he should not resign a power so useful to both. And he will end in a dictator, protector, or stadtholder; that is to say, the servant will insist to become the master, and complain that his rights are invaded, when he is invading those of others.

If the first of the alternatives, which I have pointed out, shall take place, the Americans will lose their safety; if the other, they will lose their liberty; and in both events, their glory. But neither of the alternatives can happen in a federal union with England, if the nomination

nomination of the presiding executive officer shall be left to England, provided his powers be defined and limited with strictness, anxiety, and even suspicion, by America. America will then keep her own union firm at home, in order to enjoy the advantage of that with England abroad. England will consider, as the pædium of her own safety, a confederacy, in which is involved that union of force, on which the strength of nations, and consequently her own strength depends. But to suppose that such an officer, though appointed by England, but to be changed every four years (upon the American plan), should, alone, and unaided, enslave America either to himself or to England, is to suppose the firmament to fall.

Necessary
for England.

If a federal union with England be necessary to America, it is equally so to England. Those persons must be short-sighted, in tracing the connection between political causes and effects, who do not foresee, that as Sicily was the first bone of contention between Rome and Carthage; so our West Indian islands will be the first bone of contention between America and us. The easy access which vicinity, and the state of the winds, give to America to attack them, and the difficulties which, from the want of those advantages, Britain will find to defend them, point out too surely to whose lot in war they will fall. Halifax, which, by a fatal mistake, is planted where it is commanded by heights, is only fattening up for the first bold invader. The province of Quebec is at an immense distance from England, accessible every where, and defensible no where; the single town of Quebec may be the last remain of the British empire in America, as Ravenna was that of Rome. These are sad forebodings; but they may be easily disappointed, if England and America will concur in reflecting, that there is empire enough for both, in
their

their respective dominions; that they are the only examples known in the history of mankind, of two countries which may continue almost for ever to rival each other in grandeur, yet never in power; that united, they may defy the universe, and disjointed, they will, from age to age, be tilted against each other, by the machinations of other nations who with evil to both, and will rise on their ruins.

An incorporated union with Ireland is equally a matter of necessity. A common eye, glancing over a common map of Ireland, and particularly that part of it which opens immediately upon the Atlantic ocean, will see it indented with deep and spacious bays, more than any coast in the world, except Norway, from the northmost point of Ireland to Cape Clear on the south. A scientific eye, examining those bays by Mr. M'Kenzie's charts and survey, will find them protected by islands in a most singular manner from surfs and storms, and surrounded by natural harbours, so numerous, as not even to have names. By the exposure of three sides of Ireland to the ocean, Ireland is better situated than England for the trade of the Bay of Biscay, of Spain, of Portugal, of the Straits, of Africa, of Asia, and of America, and perhaps even of the north. Her climate being mild, her soil rich, her people ingenious, brave, and now at last free, and therefore industrious (for industry for ever follows freedom, as the shadow follows the body), she will grow in stature and in strength, till she rivals England. Like two thunder clouds the two nations will then meet, and dreadful will be the explosion: For the chain of causes and effects is as absolute in the moral and political, as it is in the natural world*.

Necessity of
union with
Ireland.

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* The common argument, that because the Irish have small capitals, they will never obtain trade, is an argument for children. I once asked the late
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The people of England attended not to the rising state of America, till they were awaked with the sound of death. They sleep again over the rising state of Ireland, till they shall again be awaked by the same sound. America gave no warning; but Ireland has given it. Her hosts of volunteers have announced to England what they can do, and what they will do. Scotland too gave warning; for Mr. Fletcher's act of security put arms into the hands of every man in Scotland who was able to bear them. The Earl of Stair went instantly to London, and instead of flattering his friend and patron into a fatal security, he told Lord Godolphin that he was on the brink of a precipice, and the two countries on that of a civil war. From that instant the union was resolved upon in the cabinet of England.

A N E C D O T E.

It was intended in April of the year 1776, that the late Earl of Rochford, with whom I had the honour to live more like a brother than a friend, should succeed the Earl of Harcourt in the government of Ireland. Lord Rochford showed me his Majesty's note about it, and said he had asked time from his royal master to consider. He told me his reason for doing so was, that as continual residence in Ireland for three years, was the understood condition of his going there, he could not submit, at his age, to so long an exile, unless he could do some great good there, and get some great fame; that two objects occurred to him, the one to procure a repeal of

Provost Cochrane of Glasgow, who was eminently wise, and who had been a merchant there for near seventy years, to what cause he imputed the sudden rise of Glasgow. He said it was all owing to four young men of talents and spirit, who started at one time in business, and whose success gave example to the rest. The four had not ten thousand pounds amongst them when they began,

the

the penal laws against Roman catholics, and the other to bring about an union with England; that both seemed visionary, and yet he could not get them out of his head; that the dearest friend he had in the world was Lord Harcourt, and that he would be obliged to me if I would go over to Ireland, let Lord Harcourt know the offer which he (Lord Rochford) had got, his hesitation, and his two views, and receive Lord Harcourt's opinions and reasons upon those views, which could be better done by conversation than by letters. When I delivered my letter to the lord lieutenant, he smiled, and said, "A Nassau may do in this country what I cannot; and Rochford is open and frank, and will please the Irish. But what you come about requires much talking over." I staid a week with him at his country-house. With regard to the penal laws, he thought there was not much difficulty; that the Roman Catholics were all on the side of England, and of the King of England, in the American war, and that very good use might be made of them in the course of it: And there are men now living, high both in church and state, who may remember the conversations on that head, and that they thought on it as he did. But with regard to the other object, Lord Harcourt thought there were great difficulties; yet, perhaps, not insurmountable. When two men open their minds freely, and give their lights to each other in conversation, it is difficult to say on which side thoughts and opinions originate, and still more difficult at the distance of ten years to recollect them. But the impression upon my mind at present, of Lord Harcourt's opinions, is, that to attempt an union with Ireland in time of war, was insanity, notwithstanding its having succeeded in Scotland at such a time; that the minds of the Irish must be long prepared; for which purpose government should take the assistance of the best

writers of the nation on both sides of the water, to point out the advantages of an union, in different lights, to different men; and should, in the mean time, treat Ireland with a kindness and a confidence which she very well deserved; that no union should be attempted, unless the wish for it came from the side of Ireland; and even then, not unless there was a strong body of troops there, to keep the madmen in order; and these troops Irish, and not English: That the two great objections were, loss of money by absentees, and loss of importance by diminishing the numbers of peers and commoners, if a representation should take place to the united parliament, as was done with Scotland; but there was a way to obviate both objections by one measure. The measure was, that the rights of the peers, counties, and boroughs of Ireland, should continue as they were, but that only one-third, in rotation, should attend the united parliament; and he who did not chuse to attend, should have power to name one from amongst the other members in his place, by which all the men of parts or fortune (the only persons who ought to attend parliament) would be almost always sure of a seat; and the representation of Ireland would, at that time, have consisted of about 40 peers, and about 100 commoners.

When I reported these things to Lord Rochford, he said, "all this is too long an affair for me," and declined the honour which his sovereign intended for him.

Since that time the Duke of Richmond has thrown out an idea to the public, that the parliament of the three nations should be held frequently in Dublin; by which I presume his grace meant, in regular successions of time, and only in times of peace, because in time of war it would be improper to remove government from the vicinity of intelligence. There is not only fairness to Ireland in the proposal, but depth of policy; because
government

government then knowing all its subjects of condition, and all its subjects of condition knowing each other, the strongest links of society, those of acquaintance, and affection of the members of the state to each other, would be wound through and round all his Majesty's dominions. The ancient Greek legislators, who certainly were the wisest that ever lived, because they made politics in the abstract a science, saw well the consequence of this chain, when, under the pretence of contributing to the amusement of the people, they assembled all Greece, at regular times, at their public games*.

There are two objections to his grace's plan; one is want of accommodation in Dublin, for the numerous English members of the legislature, the other the fatigue of transporting themselves; but it would be much better to lay out a million of money in erecting houses in Dublin, to accommodate the members of legislature, than to be laying out one hundred, or perhaps two hundred millions to conquer Ireland, or to be conquered by her. And with respect to the important point of personal fatigue, Archibald Duke of Argyle, who lived to the age of near ninety, in the full enjoyment of health and faculties, used to say, that all the peers of England might do the same, if, like him, they would make a journey, twice in the year, of 500 miles, without stopping.

* In Britain the people of letters, in general, are enemies to each other, because they hardly ever meet; but in France they are friends, because they are bound together in academies, and other literary societies. It is very difficult for people to hate each other who are every day eating and drinking together: Men find on acquaintance with each other, that they are not just so bad as they thought.

POWER OF BRITAIN, IRELAND, AMERICA, AND HOLLAND COMBINED.

The late revolution in Holland, is commonly considered as the last act of the drama : But if his Majesty's ministers do their duty, they will consider it as no more than the first, and that there are several acts still remaining for them to fill up. The union with Scotland was accomplished even in time of war ; but it was because that was a war of power and success. The revolution in Holland enables England now to take her station high in the rank of nations ; and those will court her now who lately would have trode upon her. Among others, America may wish, in the present state of her own disorder and distress (for both are great), to take shelter under the joint wings of England and Holland. If an incorporated union of Britain with Ireland, a federal union with America, and a league offensive and defensive of all the three with Holland, were to be accomplished, then the modern world would return to the condition of the ancient world, in which the nations that were free, commanded the fate of those who were not free. The disturbers of mankind, for a century and a half back, have been the French : By the open violence, or secret intrigues of one of their princes in the last age, more of the human race were rendered orphans and widows, than were ever reduced to those conditions by any one man since the days of Adam. Another of them in our day, by drawing Spain against her plainest interest into the fatal family compact, oppressed the only nation that for two centuries had upheld the equality of power in Europe. But the fleets of England and Holland combined, by landing armies of their German allies from the ocean upon the coasts of France, and chiefly of Normandy ;
and

and by landing English and American forces, together with numerous bodies of black troops, formed like the seapoys of India, upon the French and Spanish West Indies, and the Spanish continent of America, that is to say, by throwing one quarter of the globe upon another, and one part of the new western world upon another, could force those two nations to submit for ever, or at least as long as those unions, and that league lasted, to the peace of human kind, and to their own happiness.

A P P E N D I X.

N^o VIII.

State of the Controversy betwixt united and separate Parliaments. Whether those Interests which are to be united by the present Treaty, and those Interests which by the same Treaty are to remain separate and distinct, are more properly and safely lodged under the Guardianship of an united Parliament, or under that of separate Parliaments. Written in the Year 1706, by Mr. Fletcher of Salton.

EVER since the union of the two crowns, it has been the work of factious turbulent spirits, to foment jealousies, and to promote differences betwixt these two nations.

On the other hand, all well meaning men have thought, that a nearer union will be the only effectual measure to bring these two nations to a peaceable state at home, and to make them formidable abroad.

Her Majesty, in her princely care, hath been pleased to appoint commissioners to treat of such an union; and these commissioners have concluded a treaty for that purpose.

This treaty is to be laid before the parliaments of both nations; and no doubt this factious race will still be at work, either entirely to obstruct this intended union, or to put it upon such an uneasy and unequal foot, as shall tempt one or other of these two nations to break it.

The consequences of a proper and well-founded union, are so great and universal, that it is the privilege and duty of every single subject of either nation, to offer his sincere opinion in such a case; and in the sense of this duty I presume to offer these few pages, with all imaginable sincerity and submission.

I shall not pretend to make a particular inquiry into the detail of this treaty; but this scheme (so far as I can learn), and all other treaties, whether upon the incorporate or fœderal scheme, seem to conclude, That an absolute communication of trade, and of most other public interests and privileges, with a proportionable share of the burdens and benefits attending that trade and these privileges, is necessary towards establishing a just and lasting union, and good correspondence betwixt these nations.

That scheme likewise (and all other schemes, whether incorporate or fœderal) seems to conclude, that in the most absolute and incorporate union that can be made betwixt these two nations, there are several interests (and of the greatest consequence too) which are and must be reserved separate to each nation, after the union is agreed to.

It is none of my present purpose to examine, Whether or not these gentlemen, who were empowered to treat of this matter, have acted their part faithfully and wisely, either with respect to the things to be incorporated, or the things to be reserved?

Whether the duties which these gentlemen have engaged us in, are easy and proper for the Scots, as some say; or if they are insupportable, as others say?

Whether the engagements which they have brought the Scots under, of paying a share of the English debts, will be sufficiently relieved by the equivalents promised; or if the Scots will be overwhelmed by these debts?

Whether the rights of the Scots African company are well fold ; or if they are thrown away ?

Whether they have purposed good and substantial articles and provisions for the security of our Scots church, and municipal laws and judicatures ; or if they have flurred over these matters, so as that the treaty may be risked in parliament ?

Whether or not the commons in Scotland are justly represented by 45, and the peers by 16 ? and whether the state of peers is honourably and justly treated ; or if they are unpeered, debased, and degraded ?

I shall shun all these questions, and shall presume that these gentlemen have acted their part very faithfully in all these matters, and have obtained very ample and substantial articles and stipulations, both with relation to the things to be incorporated, and the things to be reserved.

The great question here to be considered is, touching the security of these matters : Whether the performances of these articles and stipulations (such as they are) is more accessible and secure to the Scots after the union, under the guardianship and administration of an incorporated parliament, composed of a small part of the Scots members thrown into the whole representative of England, or under the administration of separate parliaments ?—And whether or not an united parliament will, in its consequences, engage and conciliate the inclinations of the people of both nations for ever to maintain these articles ; or if the structure of an united parliament will occasion such a subversion of rights and families, as will be a handle in all ages for shaking that union ?

Before I proceed to the description of this question, I shall beg leave to take notice of the reception it had amongst the commissioners of the treaty in two particulars : One particular is, that this question touching the

the united parliament was the first material point concluded on, though (with all due submission) it ought to have been the last, for very obvious reasons.

The subject matter of this treaty consists in two branches: The things to be communicated or reserved of either side; and, the government of these things after they are communicated and reserved.

The common rules, both of nature and policy, do direct, that the things should be first adjusted which are to be governed, before the government of them is pre-determined: There is no necessity of giving a child its name before it is brought forth: A government to be made, ought to be adapted to the nature of the things to be governed, and not the things to it.

If all manner of things of both nations were to be incorporated, it was no doubt reasonable, that the whole parts of the government of both kingdoms should likewise have been incorporated with these things: But if, otherwise, the wisdom of the treaters should have thought fit to reserve some things of value, as a separate property to each nation; then it would seem a reasonable consequence, that a separate property must be managed by a government less or more separate, as the nature and value of that separate property might require.

So that even though the whole members might from the beginning have projected, that the whole interests and government were to be incorporated, yet in the common rules of business, the articles of things ought to have been first adjusted.

The other particular is, that when this grand point came to be treated of, or rather pointed at, it was yielded without an argument, though it is known to every body, that many of the greatest and wisest men of this nation are absolutely against an united parliament, as a measure most likely to frustrate the treaty.

I am very far from believing, that the reason for yielding this grand point in that manner can be justified, because (as is told) the English treaters did positively declare they would not hear of any treaty, excepting upon the foot of an incorporating parliament: This was not the way of treating with men at freedom, and with commissioners called together by one and the same authority. This was the only grand point of the whole treaty; and the anticipating it thus, was yielding the whole cause.

But I shall not insist any more upon the journal of this treaty; the reasons of these preposterous proceedings, and the effects it will have towards the promoting or postponing of this long wished for union, will appear in due time.

I shall proceed to put the state of this question in a true light, and shall use my weak endeavours to undeceive some well-meaning men, who seem to be amused with imaginary hopes of security and peace from an united parliament.

I have taken notice that an union does consist (with respect to its subject matter) in two branches; in things to be incorporated or reserved, and in the administration and government of these things whether incorporated or reserved.

The first comprehends the people of both nations, with their trade, privileges, benefits, burdens, and all other interests.

An union in these, is the only solid expedient to unite and cement the inclinations of different people, and therefore it ought to be as full and complete as possible.

As for the government and administration of these things, it is only subservient to this union of interests, and it ought to be no further united as to its powers, than in so far as it can be made answerable to its ends.

Govern-

Government may be distinguished with respect to its power, into two parts, the executive and the legislative.

The first is lodged properly in the hands of the prince: The other has its rise from the people, with the sanction of the prince.

Government may be likewise distinguished, with respect to its ends, into two parts: One is, for defending the united property of the whole subjects against foreign insults: The other is, for protecting each particular subject, or any part or number of the united subjects, in the full and free exercise of their several properties, against mutual injuries at home.

Each of these two several ends of government, is accomplished according to the will and constitution of that power whose province it is.

And therefore as to the first end of government, nature seems to have pointed out a necessity that both these nations should be governed by one prince; their situation is so contiguous, that one cannot be invaded but the other must be in danger; and if they were under different princes, they might be in danger of invading each other: So that one prince is the most proper power for executing such operations as are necessary for their common defence.

But as to the other end of government, an united parliament is (with all submission) a most improper power to protect the subjects in the several parts of this island in their united properties, and far more in these which are to be reserved distinct and separate.

This will appear, by considering the complexion of this power of an united parliament.

By the constitution of parliaments, the laws are to have their rise from the will and humour of the people, signified by the lords and commons, who (in their different capacities) are the representatives of the nation.

It is a certain consequence of all power, that whosoever is possessed of it, he will employ it to advance that interest to which he himself is most affectionate, and in which he himself is most concerned.

If the power of making laws and ordinances were in the sole arbitrament of the prince, no part of the nation or subjects would have any transcendent influence in making laws, more than any other part; the reason is plain, the prince in that case is judge and not party; he is no wise interested in these laws, except in so far as they regard the common benefit and improvement of his whole nation; he has no separate property, no peculiar neighbourhood, the remotest corner is his, as well as the metropolis; he finds his honour and government supported and secured by the trade of the more remote parts, as well as by the trade of the adjacent; and therefore he will encourage the interest of the greater part, without suffering it to smother that of the lesser; he will not suffer any branch of trade in his whole dominions, to perish by the effects of laws calculated for the personal advantage of any number of his subjects.

It must be quite otherwise, when laws and ordinances, relating to trade and other concerns, are made by the will and humour of the people: There the principles of legislature flow from a quite different fountain, and take their course into quite different streams.

Amongst private men, sometimes the principles of morality are the rules of their actions; but great societies are above these rules: A member of parliament considers himself as bound in duty to maintain and promote the interest he represents, by all the latitude and means allowed in the constitution; which, in plain language, is his vote.

Seeing then every single member of parliament is both judge and party, it must necessarily follow, that if any branch

branch of trade does rival another, or if any separate interest does contend with another, that trade and that interest which has most members to support it, must swallow up and diminish the other.

Having thus described the nature and complexion of this united representative, I proceed to examine the effects of its power, with relation to the interest of Scotland; and first with respect to those things which are to be incorporated.

In this long tract of land, from south to north, there is a great variety of funds for trade, such as corn, cattle, fishing, wool, linen, coals, salt, lead, &c.

Amongst these many several funds, there are some, which in their use and improvement are prejudicial to each other, with respect to the persons who are the proprietors, and do naturally create a rivalry in trade; such as the woollen in the south, and the linen in the north; the importers of cattle in the one part, and the breeders in the other; the pilchers in one part, and herrings in the other; the lace-workers in one, and the clothiers in another.

It is very plain what treatment the Scots may expect as to these matters in an united parliament; and if any man doubts it, he may be fully satisfied, by examining the deportment of the English towards one another, by several acts past in their own parliaments, such as those concerning cattle, Flanders lace, water-born coal, &c. In which cases, the prevailing members of some corners of England, have advanced their own product and manufacture by laws, not only to the prejudice of another part which was not so numerous in representatives, but even to the hurt of some of the most valuable branches of the product and trade of England.

If the subjects of England have been so treated by each other, how must it fare with the Scots, where the
greater

greater extent of territories by land and sea (to omit other considerations) shall produce a greater variety of funds; some of which do more directly rival the funds of England, than those of England do one another.

For instance, supposing an act were offered in the united parliament, for burying in woollen all over the nation, it would certainly carry by votes, and the Scots linen would suffer by it.

Supposing the pilcher fishers in Cornwall, and the red-herring traders in the east and west seas besouth Yorkshire, should find that the Scots herring went to their markets, and spoiled their trade, it is plain they can find means to clog that trade of herring-fishing in Scotland.

In a word, the great distance of ground from the south to the north, with the various and discrepant funds of trade, do naturally establish two distant centres of trade, to be carried on by two several races of men, who must have two distinct views of profit and loss; and whatever misfortunes the Scots have lain under hitherto, by the over-ruling influence of their neighbours, it is the finishing stroke to their sinking trade, to abandon it by wholesale to the mercy of that parliament, which can now, by outvoting the Scots, do that by law which formerly was against the laws of nations, and did involve them in a state of variance (if not of war) with the Scots.

But perhaps people may think these are but trifling articles of trade, and ought to give way to the other blessings which they expect from this united parliament, and hope that the forty-five Scots members may find favour with the contiguous English members to join with them to support the equal enjoyment of these incorporated interests; therefore I shall leave this point to the further consideration of unprejudiced men, and shall proceed to describe the fate of those valuable interests

terests which are expressly to be reserved, as a distinct national property.

I shall pass over several articles of lesser moment, which are said to be reserved in this treaty, and shall only take notice of these four reserved interests, as being of the highest consequence to the Scots.

1. The separate established interest of church-government.

2. A separate state, or rather species, of nobility.

3. Separate municipal laws and judicatures.

4. A separate duty of an equivalent to be paid by the English to the Scots, in recompence of that share of the debts of England which the Scots are to pay.

I shall demonstrate, that as to the first and second of these, the English are under an indispensable duty to demolish them; and that as to the third and fourth, it will be to the interest and advantage of the English to suppress them.

As to the first, it were entirely foreign to the present purpose, to enter into the debate in point of right, which of these two church-governments is *jure divino*, or which of them is the more orderly, proper, or decent: What is necessary for the present purpose, is to take notice in point of fact, of three several principles; one or other of which does determine all men in their deportment towards church-government.

First, Most people are of opinion, that the establishment of church-government is equally sacred with that of civil government; that as God Almighty hath instituted one for the preservation of the civil rights of men, so he hath instituted the other for the benefit of their souls; and that his vicegerent powers, whether princes, parliaments, or other assemblies, are each of them in their several capacities, executive or legislative, bound

in duty to God, both to support and promote that church-government which they think is right.

As a great many are of this opinion from a principle of conscience, so a great many more are so from a principle of policy and good government: These do think that the government of church and state are so naturally interwoven, that no nation can be at peace, unless both these go hand in hand in their natural duties to each other, and in their common dispensations to the whole members of the united society.

A third sort of people (and not a few) are, from a factious principle, ready at all times to put clergymen by the ears, even where an establishment by law makes the one part secure, and a toleration by law makes the other part easy; and when two opposite establishments shall appear in Westminster, and both shall pretend to claim their equal rights in an united parliament, these factious men will never want a ready handle.

Seeing then the members of an united parliament must be regulated by one or other of these principles, it is very plain, that this united parliament must come to a vote, Which of these church governments shall stand, and the other at best must satisfy itself with being tolerated.

Perhaps it may be objected against these fears, that the ground of contention will rather be removed, by two several establishments of church government, seeing the ground of dissatisfaction was, because the one was not established as well as the other; that if two churches are established, both parties will be satisfied, and those who are not pleased with the one, may go to the other: As to which, it shall be acknowledged, that the subjects of both nations may live easily under two different church governments; and if these two nations were united in
trade,

trade, and other interests, so as that the subjects of both should find equal encouragement in either, it is not to be doubted, that both nations might be more easy as to church matters than they are at present ; but at the same time, these two different established churches cannot be supported by one and the same parliament.

And here appears plainly, the gross mistake of those who imagine that one parliament can support two different church-establishments : they do not advert to the difference betwixt being tolerated and being established.

To be tolerated, is no more than to receive the compassion of the law, without the least share of power, encouragement, or approbation.

To be established, is to receive the approbation, judgment, and the whole will of the law ; and a church established, is actually assumed into a share of the constitution of the government, with such a share of its power as is proper to administer its own discipline.

So that to say, one and the same parliament will allow two churches to be established, each with separate power, is equally ridiculous, as to say, that one man can have two different wills ; and it is not to be doubted, that the first act of an united parliament, will be to reduce one of these incompatible establishments ; which of the two will fall, is easy to guess.

To illustrate this point, I shall suppose, that at the late Revolution, Episcopacy had been settled in the North, and Presbytery in the West (according to the inclinations of these respective parts of Scotland) ; would not the world have looked upon this as an incongruous piece of work ; and would not both these establishments have been jumbled into one long ere now ?

The case will be the same, if the parliaments of both nations are as much united as that of Scotland is united

in itself, with this variation only, that the church-governments of England and Scotland are more incompatible than Scots Episcopacy and Presbytery are.

Perhaps it may again be objected, that if these two church-governments are expressly secured by positive articles, in this grand and solemn treaty, no parliament will attempt to alter them.

With regard to which, first, in point of fact, if this present parliament of Scotland shall attempt to subvert the whole fabric of the Scots constitution, certainly, *à fortiori*, an united parliament may invert, or rather regulate, a part of the constitution; and therefore those who have any value for either the church government of Scotland, or for any other of these reserved interests, must of all things be careful to avoid so much as coming to a question, whether or not this present parliament can finish this treaty of union; for if this parliament shall so much as point at any such thing, there is an end for ever of all the security which the Scots can have for any of their reserved interests.

But in the next place, in point of right, it is plainly above the power of this parliament to attempt any such alteration in the constitution; the reason is plain, Members of Parliament are but administrators, and their acts cannot extend beyond the power given them by their constituents; which is, in general, to support or amend the constitution, either by making new laws, or by mending old ones.

And though commissions to represent in parliament do run in general and most ample terms, yet there is one natural condition in all commissions, which neither needs nor ought to be expressed, viz. That the undertakers of the commissions shall contain themselves within the verge of the constitution: If they exceed this, they usurp a
 8 power

power which is not given them; they violate the constitution; and are punishable as usurpers and traitors.

After all, Supposing a new parliament were called, and that the members were fully instructed, and impowered by their constituents to ratify a treaty by which both parliaments were to be turned into one; and that this last scene of a dying Scots parliament, and Scots constitution, should take all the precaution which they could devise, for securing the present established church-government of Scotland; yet it is plainly beyond the power of men, to make such a provision of security as may not be undone in an united parliament.

That establishment, which was formerly safe under the guardianship, will, and approbation of its own parliament, and of its own independent constitution, is now turned out from under that shelter, and must take its fate under a new sort of parliament, and independent constitution, where, if it has the majority, it receives approbation, and is assumed into a share of that new constitution; but if otherwise, it may perhaps obtain compassion and toleration.

It may be here alleged, That all those dangers and injuries by which the Scots suffer at the hands of the English, do arise from that state of separation betwixt the two kingdoms, and that the more that this separation is removed, the less the danger will be; That an united parliament makes us one and not two, all British, and what is done in that Parliament is done for the British, and by the British.

As to which, I do so far agree with the notion of an incorporate union, that both the jealousies we are under, and the injuries we receive, do arise from our present state of separation; and therefore I am for uniting both nations in all those interests which are mentioned in this present

present treaty, and some more, if so the wisdom of the nation shall think fit.

But seeing by the scheme of this treaty (and by all other schemes that ever I heard of) there are some very valuable interests to be reserved as separate properties, and even as distinct establishments; it seems beyond human comprehension, how these separate distinct interests and establishments can be regulated and supported by one parliament.

There are two measures, which the Scots in prudence may take to screen themselves from the unequal power of the English; one is, To purchase their affections; the other is, To avoid their influence.

There is no honourable way for compassing the first, but by uniting with them, as I have said above; and if this will do the turn, where is the necessity or prudence of dismembering of a Scots constitution, through so many difficulties, hardships, and dangers? If this union of interests is not able to purchase entirely the affections of the English, but that the English, after such an union in interest, may still have an itching to out-rival the Scots in some of their united interests, and shall still find themselves under a necessity or duty to suppress or demolish these interests which are reserved to the Scots: In that case, for the Scots to subject these interests to an united parliament, is so far from being an expedient to avoid English influence, that it is the way to throw themselves headlong into it; and the Scots deserve no pity, if they voluntarily surrender their united and separate interests to the mercy of an united parliament, where the English shall have so vast a majority.

The English can find access two several ways, to injure the Scots in their trade, or other concerns: By their influence upon a Scots parliament; and, By laws passed in an English parliament.

It

It is very plain, that they can practise the first of these means, with a great deal of more ease in an united parliament, than in a separate Scots parliament: It is much easier to corrupt 45 Scots at London, than it is to corrupt 300 at Edinburgh; and besides, there will be no occasion of corrupting them, when the case shall occur, of a difference betwixt the South Britons and the North Britons; for the northern will be out-voted, without being corrupted. As the first can be practised with more ease, so the Scots may be injured in an united parliament with greater safety.

A separate parliament of England (especially if the terms of union are expressly declared) cannot make a breach in the interests of Scotland, without imminent danger to themselves; but in an united parliament, they have the concurrence of the Scots, even though the whole 45 should vote against the law; and these 45 Scots members do serve for no more than as so many Scots witnesses, to assent to the surrender of such rights as the English shall please to take from them, and to rise in judgment against their own nation, if they should afterwards pretend that any injury has been done them.

In a word, A separate English parliament may perhaps invade the Scots rights by their laws; and perhaps a Scots parliament may find means to move them to repeal those laws: But, in the case of an united parliament, the Scots do make a formal surrender of the very faculty itself, and are for ever left to the mercy of the English, with respect to all their interests, both united and separate.

I shall close what I have to say, touching this dream of being one and not two, by putting the case, That a law were offered in the united parliament (to make it go down the better), and that it were brought in by one of the forty-five Scots members, for some regulation in the church-

church-government, or for some regulation of the civil judicatures, or touching some matters of trade ; and supposing, that whatever smooth title this law might have, yet it did point at no less than to overturn the church, or civil judicatures in Scotland, or to ruin the trade of Scotland ; I suppose the other Scots members should oppose this law, as being prejudicial to the Scots rights reserved in the articles of treaty : The answer is very ready and plain, That there is no such thing as Scots or English ; they are all British ; they are one, and not two ; the law now proposed cannot hurt the Scots no more than the English ; if it does hurt, it does hurt to the British, of which the English are a part ; and the only way to know whether it does hurt or good to the British, is to put it to the vote of a British parliament.

This will be the issue of that darling plea, of being one and not two ; it will be turned upon the Scots with a vengeance ; and their forty-five members may dance round to all eternity, in this trap of their own making.

I proceed to consider the next Scots interest which is to be reserved, viz. A separate state, or rather species, of nobility,

I am not here to examine into the justice of that proportion of sixteen, which I am told is by the treaty appointed to be the number for representing the whole body of the Scots nobility in the united parliament ; neither am I to take notice of the manner how they are to represent.

What I am here to observe is, That by this treaty the Scots peers are reduced into a new state ; and upon that account, it may be very proper to consider, what influence that new species of mongrel-peerage may have upon the union and peace of these nations, and what danger

danger this new set of diminutive peers may be in of being in time altogether suppressed.

First then, That the Scots peers are reduced to a new state is plain : They have, by the patents of their families, an inherent, proper, and constant right of sitting and voting in parliament ; and by the present treaty, that constant right of theirs is turned into a mere precarious right, either by election or by rotation.

It is very obvious, what influence the degrading of this state would have upon the peace of these nations : The right of sitting constantly in parliament, and of sharing in the legislative power of the government, is as regularly the property of every peer of Scotland, as his own estate is ; and indeed it is more sacred and valuable, because the condition of a man's estate may fail, but that of his representation cannot, without forfeiture.

The history of all ages hath taught us, that single injured families have been very uneasy to a government ; and that government must be in a strange condition, which hath so great a number of families in a state of forfeiture ; and these the greatest and best allied families in the nation.

It is of no manner of weight, to pretend that their rights are preserved by being represented by a small number ; and that besides, they acquire all the other privileges of English peers ; such as the privilege of running in debt without being bound to pay it, &c.

For first, If the privilege of a constant right is turned into that of election, it is quite altering the property and nature of the privilege : A peer has, in that case, less opportunity for sharing in the government of his nation, than a lesser baron ; and it is plain, that in process of time, an united parliament would mumble this spurious race of Scots peers into nothing, for very obvious reasons.

As to their acquiring of all the remaining privileges of English peers, these can never come to make near an equivalent for that constant right of representation; and besides, for a taste of their future treatment in these matters, I am told, that even in the very treaty itself, the Scots peers are already jostled out of one of the chief of these privileges, viz. their right of sitting in judgment upon the trial of a peer: But this is to descend into the particulars of the treaty, which I am to avoid.

I know, some Scotsmen do think that this state hath been increased to a number beyond measure; and therefore in retrenching the number of peers, the nation will not suffer.

I am very sensible, that this state is swelled (especially of late) to a very overgrown bulk; and perhaps there is too much ground to think, that some men have been instrumental in increasing the number, of purpose to sink that noble body of men, by its own weight; especially considering the mean and scandalous grounds which some obscure people have most impudently offered of late, for their pretensions to titles of honour.

Upon this account, the nation may have an eye upon these who have been the chief instruments in such promotions; and it may become the wisdom of the nation, to fall upon means to obstruct any such in time coming.

But as to these gentlemen, who would run to that extreme, of dismembering the state of peers, I would recommend to their consideration, the fate of some northern nations, who entered upon the same attempts.

Let no man think, that it is an easy matter to alter any branch of a constitution: The fundamental settlements of a constitution are like so many links of a chain, when one link is broke, the whole chain is broke; and if one state of the nation sets up a rivalry with another,

perhaps a third party lies in wait to put the whole under chains ; and it is too much to be feared, that some people may have propagated these disorderly notions with this very view.

Besides, these gentlemen who expect to ease the Scots nation of a burden, by reducing the number and power of the Scots nobility in this manner, will find themselves very wide of their purpose. If indeed a proposal were made, for reforming that state, with relation to the government, or constitution of Scotland, as it now stands by itself, perhaps there might be some colour of ground to expect some ease to the nation by it ; and even that must be attended with imminent danger to the constitution.

But if this reform is calculated for the ease of the united parliament, it is to take so much power out of the hands of a race of Scotsmen, who might some time or other stand in the gap for that part of the island where their interests and relations are, and to translate it into the hands of a set of men whose bias lies another way, and whose little finger may prove thicker than the others loins,

I make not the least doubt, that there are some people in the nation, who, from a prejudice at the present church-establishment, and the nobility, would willingly sacrifice both, hoping that they shall be able to secure their other interests, which are of more value to them.

But these gentlemen will find, that all their interests will meet with the same quarter ; when an united parliament shall take away one reserved interest, this opens a floodgate to sweep away the remainder.

I proceed therefore to examine the third article of these reserved interests, viz. The municipal laws, and the judicatures for administering justice, in which every

individual subject, of whatsoever estate, quality, or complexion, must be concerned to the highest degree.

I shall not be tenacious of the system of our laws, though perhaps they are inferior to none; the danger here pointed at is, That the judicatures for administering justice, and the cognizance of all law-suits, shall be carried up to London, either in the first instance, or by way of appeal.

If this should be the fate of our judicatures, inevitable ruin must follow: There is not any man in the nation, whose affairs do not oblige him frequently to attend the Session at Edinburgh; and even this is a very heavy expence to those who live in the remote shires: What insupportable addition of expence will ensue, if in place of coming to Edinburgh, they must go to London, is not so much as to be thought of.

That this will be the fate of our judicatures is too plain: It will begin with appeals; and whatever reservation we may pretend to make for a Scots court of appeals, the House of Peers will never suffer one part of the nation to be from under their jurisdiction, more than another; the Scots and English are no more two, but one, all are British; and it must be the interest of a British House of Peers, to make all the British subjects equally own the jurisdiction of their house.

After appeals, the judicatures will soon follow: First they will lose their authority; when people know where they can reverse a sentence of the Session, they will not be very solicitous what sentence the Session gives.

Many members of the united parliament are advocates and attornies at London; these will bring all the Scots grist they can to their own mill.

All the representatives of these towns and counties which lie upon the road betwixt Scotland and London, will

will oblige themselves and their constituents, by bringing so many travellers into these places every term.

In a word, it will even fare with the Scots, as it did with the Welsh, only with this variation, that the more extraordinary distance of Scotland from London, will make the expence far more insupportable to the Scots than it is to the Welsh.

As these several reasons which I have mentioned will occasion the transportation of our Scots judicatures to London, so I am told, that there are some clauses in the treaty, which seem designed of purpose to pave the way for it; such as—"Subject nevertheless to such regulations as shall be thought necessary for the better administration of justice, to be made by the parliament of Great Britain."—"That after the union the privy council does continue in Scotland, for preserving of order and public peace until the parliament of Britain shall think fit to alter it, or establish any other effectual course for that end."—"That all courts now in being in Scotland, do remain, but subject to such alterations by the parliament of Britain, as may be thought more expedient for the common good."

I am to shun meddling with the treaty, and therefore I shall make no comment upon these clauses.

Perhaps some people, upon account of the personal faults of our judges, may be willing to part with our judicatures.

If there are any such personal faults, let the wisdom of a Scots parliament provide a remedy; to part with our judicatures were a cure worse than the disease.

I come to the last of these reserved interests, viz. a separate duty of an equivalent, to be paid by the English to the Scots, in compensation of that share which the Scots are bound to pay of the debts of England.

I am

I am so much a wellwisher to an union and good understanding betwixt these nations, that I shall not insist upon the value of our African company, which is to be abandoned for this equivalent, and which many people think may become of more value to Scotland, than all the accession they can have by the communication of trade with England.

Neither shall I reckon up the vast burden of additional duties, which are to be laid upon the Scots, which some people look upon as insupportable.

What I am here to observe is, that the Scots can have no manner of security for this equivalent, in the case of an united parliament.

In this matter of the equivalent, the Scots do undertake to pay part of the English debts, by laying on duties upon their customs, &c. And the English do undertake, upon the other hand, to refund so much money to the Scots, as an equivalent. This fixeth a formal debit and credit betwixt the two nations, and it is not to be doubted that an united parliament will bind the Scots to their part of the performance ; and they may look upon these duties upon their customs, &c. as unalterable ; but it is very far above the power of the Scots, in that united parliament, to force the English to pay their equivalent.

It is incident to the depraved nature of man, that neither private men, and far less societies, will perform their bargains, or pay their debts, unless when they are compelled to it.

In the case of private men, or private societies, the judge at common law is umpire ; but in this case of an united parliament, which has no superior power to compel them, the English are both judge and party.

Whatever

Whatever manner of way this equivalent is to be disposed of, it is certainly a sum of money to be paid by 513 and their constituents, to 45 and their constituents; and if any man does believe that any 513 men in the world, who have no power to answer to, will compel themselves, and pay a great sum of money either at once or yearly, he has more faith than experience or judgment.

Thus I have laid open, with all imaginable sincerity, what I think must be the fate of the Scots interests (especially those which are to be reserved separate) in an united parliament.

And this scheme of an union, upon that foot, seems to be attended with many insuperable difficulties.

All these difficulties would vanish, if these two nations were united in their interests under different parliaments.

The English cannot apprehend the least danger from the Scots in separate parliaments; the only ground of discontent to the Scots is, because they are injured in their trade and other interests, either by English laws, or by English influence upon Scots laws: If both are united in trade and other interests by express articles, the Scots must be easy to the end of the world.

Neither are the Scots to apprehend danger from separate parliaments, as they may from an united one, for the reasons I have given above.

Each separate parliament will support their own established church.

In the case of separate parliaments, there will be no subverted constitutions and privileges, nor forfeited families, to rise up to disturb the peace of the society.

Each parliament will manage their own civil laws and judicatures.

And each parliament will maintain their own duties and debts without embroiling themselves with dangerous and uncertain equivalents.

I know

I know it will be objected, that to have different parliaments, is to continue in the same unhappy state in which we have been ever since the union of the two crowns.

This is a plain mistake in fact : I do acknowledge that in point of right, the Scots by their union in allegiance were justly entitled to a communication of trade and other public privileges with the English ; but the misfortune lay in this, That at the union of the two crowns this mutual right of communication was not declared by some express open deed : And the Scots (who are the weaker nation) were left to plead their uncertain (though just) titles before the judicatures of England.

This misfortune may be effectually provided for by an express treaty, which will for ever secure the Scots in such articles as are to be expressly condescended to by the English, especially considering that the errors of past times have been a warning to both nations.

I know the expence, and some other bad circumstances in the constitution of a Scots parliament, is used by some as an argument for an united parliament.

As to the expence, a Scots government may help that if they please, but the course proposed will not help it ; the 45 commoners, and the 16 peers, with the attendance of other Scots men at London, upon account of parliamentary business, will be an expence very far beyond the other, and will indeed prove an insupportable burden upon the Scots, especially considering that in this case the money which is spent is all carried out of the kingdom.

As to the errors in the constitution of a Scots parliament, these may be helped by a Scots parliament, if they who make this objection do not obstruct it.

But here again we meet with a frightful objection, composed of despair and fear, That the Scots can be no worse than they are, and therefore they had best run
into

into this treaty at any rate: That if they do not, the English will never hear of a treaty again, and the consequences will be ruin and desolation.

This seems to be a strange way of arguing: Shall the Scots never find themselves in a capacity of treating as free men? Their treaters have been hurried into this article of an united parliament, and their nation is to be bullied into it.

I appeal to every man's own observation, if (excepting a few misled well-meaning gentlemen) these persuasives are not handed about by those very men, who have been most active in drawing their own nation into its present state of misery: These are the incendiaries, who, having fired the city, will not advise or assist the inhabitants to extinguish the flame; but would fright them away to save their lives: And these are they who have driven the nation upon precipices, thereby to force them to swallow down such terms as shall be offered them.

But it is to be hoped, that the wisdom of the Scots nation will take care equally to avoid these precipices, and any such dishonourable and ruinous terms.

It is certainly the interest of all good men to promote a nearer union with our neighbours of England; and no time ought to be lost on our part in going about so good a work; and the English are no such people as these incendiaries would represent them: There are no doubt in both nations, some people who endeavour to play the game of faction to each other's hand; but the wise and good people of both have solid grounds to go upon, for defeating these dark projects, and for establishing a lasting union and settlement.

But if the English are not ripe for any such solid mean of accommodation, the Scots, as provident men, are to consider, before they take such a leap in the dark, whether or not they have any thing within the compass of their

own power, by which, without waiting for a treaty with the English, they can make themselves easy and safe.

If we consider the bounty of Providence to us in our native situation and product, and the wisdom of our ancestors in leaving us a good wholesome constitution, and shall compare these with our present degenerate state, we shall find a very large field for improving the one, and for restoring the other, without the concurrence of England.

I am not for overloading the power of the prince with unusual limitations, especially during the administration of so gentle a government as we live now under at present.

Neither shall I presume to prepossess the deliberations of the ensuing session of the Scots parliament, by offering any thing that is new.

I shall only, in a few general terms, point out some things which arise naturally, as expedients to obviate these objections which are raised to drive this nation into the measure of an united parliament.

These objections do point either at the defects of our constitution within ourselves, or at the defects of our relative state with respect to our neighbours of England.

As to the defects of our constitution within ourselves, I observe chiefly these three objections are made :

The expence and bad constitution of our parliaments.

The exorbitant number of our nobility.

And the corruption of our judicatures.

As to the expence and bad constitution of our parliaments, there have been some laws lying before the parliament for some years, and some of them ready for the royal assent too, which may go a great length in curing of these evils, and what more is requisite may be worthy the consideration of the ensuing session.

As to the exorbitant number of the nobility, there is a law lying likewise under consideration for some years, which

which may be a proper remedy for obstructing their exorbitant growth in time coming.

As to the corruption of the judicatures : The Lords of Session are secure against the frowns of a court, by having their commissions *ad vitam*. And seeing corruption and ignorance are failings very hurtful, but not easily to be proven ; therefore, if the parliament shall think fit to pass a law, for removing summarily by a vote of parliament, such judges as the majority of the parliament shall think corrupt or ignorant ; that bench may become the best constituted judicature in the world, and may be one of the most effectual means to make the nation happy.

As to our relative state with respect to our neighbours of England, it is very plain, that in point of right, the Scots by their union of allegiance with the English, are bound to share in the burdens and duties of England, and consequently are entitled to as great a share of their trade, and other privileges, as this treaty does give them.

But lest some narrow selfish people should dispute this point of right, I shall retire to an undeniable point of fact, viz. That the Scots actually do contribute very largely and effectually to support these wars, in which they have no other concern, but as being under the same allegiance with England ; and which are carried on for supporting that trade, of which they are denied a share.

These means, I say, of rectifying our own constitution at home, are in our hands, in the possession and power of a Scots parliament ; and if the English do not (without any further treaty) make the Scots such suitable returns, as both their just rights, and their ready performances, do entitle them to, it is both natural and just for the Scots to withdraw these performances, and to turn them to the best advantage any where else.

This they can easily do, either by public treaties, or private bargains, with some other neighbours, by acts of
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general

general or particular naturalization, by declaring themselves a free port, and by many other measures, which are in the power of a Scots people or parliament, without waiting for a treaty with England.

It is true, in so far as an act of parliament is requisite, the assent of the Crown must be had; but if a Scots parliament does exert themselves according to their duty, they have a gracious Queen who will do them justice.

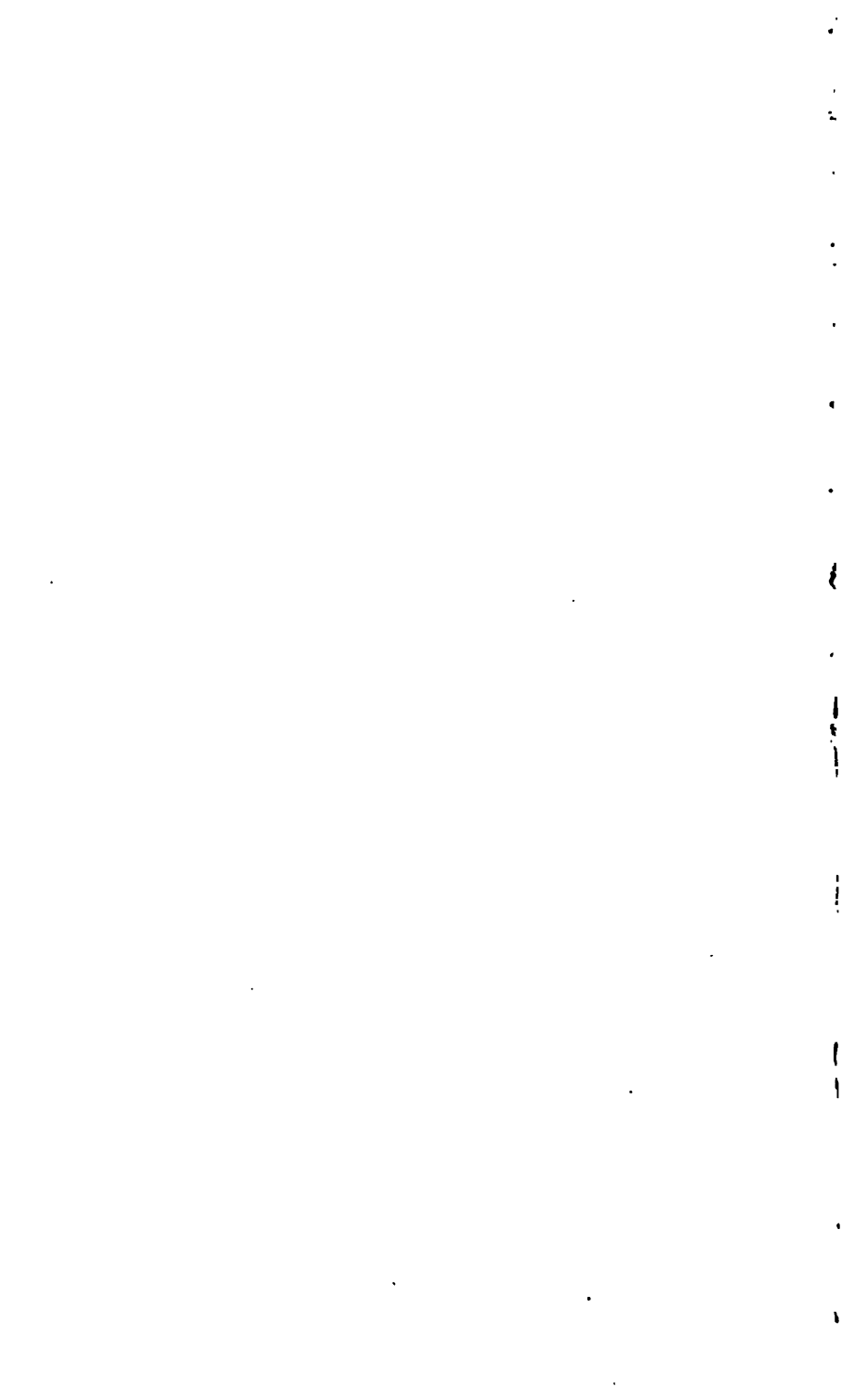
As to the apprehensions of opposition from the power of England: It is in the power of England to do them justice; and it is not to be imagined, that so wise and so generous a nation will endanger their own and their neighbour's peace, where they can find so easy and so just a remedy.

And besides, we see that the justice of Providence hath inspired all the potentates in Europe, with a principle to preserve the balance of its power; and new alliances do arise every day, for protecting any one part, though never so small and contemptible, which is attacked or injured by another.

In a word, If the Scots shall boldly, justly, and dutifully, set about to rectify their own constitution at home, and shall use their own native product of men and goods, to such advantages as the bounty of Providence lays before them, either by employing it with their neighbours of England, who ought to have the first offer of it, or by making honourable and beneficial bargains elsewhere; the plain consequence must be, either a comfortable state at home within themselves, or an honourable, equal, and lasting state of union with their neighbours of England.

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